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Pro-Slavery.

THE SOUTH AND PARTIES.

THE imminent prospect of deadly war upon the South devolves upon her people the necessity of a resolute settlement in their own minds of what they will demand of any and all parties who, in the approaching Presidential canvass, shall bid for their support.

Already the call of national organizations is being sounded; already the eyes of greedy and base politicians are turned to the booty in '56, and measures and men are spoken of, by which the North is to be again pampered into insolence, and the South dragged down into loss and shame. It is proper, therefore, that the true men of the South should speak out now, while opinion is yet in germ, and before credulity and hope entrap any into treacherous bargains with party.

There are issues crowding now in federal politics, unparalleled before in their intensity of feeling and practical interest. The Missouri struggle in 1820, the tariff in '32, the repeal of the 21st rule, the Wilmot Proviso in '48, the admission of California, and the Compromise measures, all sink into insignificance when compared with the great questions which are bursting upon us. Aggravated by feeble palliatives, the disease has broken out more malignant than ever. The declaration is made, in bold and emphatic words, "That Abolition has the control of the Government, and can use it now to carry out its long cherished schemes"; that "there is no further need of compromises with slavery," and "there shall be none"; "there shall be no more slave States"; the Fugitive law is to be repealed; the Missouri restriction restored; slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all places where the Federal Government has jurisdiction, is to be abolished; the inter-State slave trade is to be stopped; and that the Northern man or party that dares speak peace to slavery agitation "shall surely die"; but, more insolent than all, that "the South," in the language of Giddings, "cannot be kicked out of the Union," and will bear, with some grumbling and grimace, perhaps, anything that is heaped upon her. Here is the chalice which Abolition presents to Southern lips! Let us analyze its contents.

The Fugitive Slave law was the poor boon which the South received for her acquiescence in the compromise. It was all she got in that infamous swindle. It would have been spurned by the South, as a worthless thing, but for the intercession of the border States. The Constitution, which made the rendition of fugitive slaves a matter between the States, had proved impotent. The slave-owner had been mobbed and murdered in the streets of the North, while seeking his property, in accordance with its guaranties. The border States asked for further guaranties, and they thought they had them in the Fugitive law. But, like the Constitution, fanaticism made it, from the beginning, practically, null and void, and has trampled it out of the statute book. What burning shame and disappointment must they now feel who see in it the failure of their vain hopes, and for how paltry a price they accepted the indignities of the compromise. Yet Abolition demands that this insignificant boon shall be taken from us. It is not enough that the Constitution avails us nothing in the recovery of our fugitive slaves—not enough that the law itself is practically a worthless nonentity—not enough that State after State has passed laws nullifying it; but, to stamp upon our hearts the conviction that neither our rights, nor honour, nor feelings, are thought of or respected, it is to be wiped out of the records of the land. The poor refuge which a galled but timid pride might find in the language of an obsolete nugatory law—even that is to be taken away.

The restoration of the Missouri Compromise line is the next feature in the programme. For thirty years has this stigma of the South's first submisson been upon us. For thirty years the waves of Southern colonization have beat against this barrier raised by Southern hands, and been turned back. Still consenting to its inequality, and wrong, the South again and again tendered it to the North as a settlement to the Pacific. But it was always refused. It stood until, at the instance of Northern men, it was repealed by the Nebraska-Kansas bill. What is the consequence? Kansas, a region suited in all respects for slavery, is thrown open to the South. The North grows furious at the thought. And now the contest opens. Hireling emigrants are poured in to extinguish this new hope of the South. But, true to their institutions, and their homes, the Missourians prepare for the struggle. Away from the old centres of sectional strife, far off in the fair fields of Kansas, the North and the South, fanaticism and slavery, meet face to face. It was a mortal struggle, and slavery conquered.

The result has deepened the hostility of the North. They demand, in louder and fiercer tones than ever, the restoration of the Missouri line; and Kansas is to be excluded unless she abolish slavery. It is the highest and most aggressive policy yet taken by Abolition. It is practical and momentous in all its bearings. Its decision against us settles the fate of Southern progress—settles the superiority and domination of the North, and seals the ultimate doom of slavery. It involves an issue as momentous as any that can come upon a people. It contains the matured fruits of all the hostility, sectional avarice and fanaticism which, watered by compromises and submission, have been germinating for our destruction since the foundation of the Government. The repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, the restoration of the Missouri line, and the rejection of Kansas as a slave State, with other measures noticed, constitute the platform of Abolition.

Our readers know with what an overwhelming majority is has swept the entire North upon these issues, annihilating every party that stood in its way, prostrating the Administration, and sending to the House of Representatives one hundred and thirty members sworn to do its bidding. The next Presidential canvass will be inaugurated in the midst of the crisis. We shall have again parties attempting to patch up sectional divisions, save the Union, and control the spoils of the Government. The North will be implored to be moderate in her persecution, and the South patient under her sufferings. There will be again party platforms, framed with euphonious ambiguity, to propitiate the strong and cheat the weak. There will be pledges, given with no honesty, and accepted with no faith. There will be the old story over again, of concession, unity and compromise, during the struggle; of strife, treachery and violated promises, in the hour of victory. It is in view of such a prospect, and with the issues and dangers impending over us, that we declare what, in our opinion, the South should demand of any party which hopes for her support.

In the first place, it will not be enough that the question of slavery is shut out of party creed. Whatever importance may be ascribed to other questions, slavery is the one paramount vital question to the South. In the war which is now waging against her, every other issue is made to bow before it. How can she consent to hush it up, or give it a second place in her policy? When the whole North is Abolitionized, for the South to enter an organization which avoids the slavery issue, because to touch it is to involve its own dissolution, which agrees to disagree upon this, her question of life or death, in which Free-Soilism consents to stifle, yet nurse, its hostility for the purpose of party triumph, and then, when loosed from party ties and clothed with power, it shall turn upon its duped ally and victim to mock and trample upon her, would indeed be a depth of folly and shame beyond our conception.

A party that asks of the South such self-stultification as this, such blind betrayal of all that is valuable or dear, for the sake of the Union, or anything else, makes a demand which she must reject with scorn and defiance. The question of American politics cannot be passed over in silence by any party which aspires to govern the country. Its very silence will be its loudest accuser of intended treachery to the South. From such an organization, if successful, the North would come out mightier than ever; for the Federal Government, through which it expects to achieve its purposes of Abolition, would be completely in its power. For Southern men, therefore, to accept such a proposal, is not only to surrender their rights to the mercy of their enemies, but crown them with power to overwhelm and crush them.

What, then, do the necessities of the South require at the hands of every party bidding for her support? What has she a right to demand? Not silence, not suspicious reserve, but full and explicit declarations, in her favour, upon the issues which are before the country. If they intend to be true to her, let the assurance be given. Let them come up and meet fairly the Fugitive law, the Missouri line and the Kansas questions, and declare, in the face of the world, whether they "be with us or against us." But if the North refuses to do this, it will be because she no longer regards our rights, our favours or our threats, and because, believing herself strong enough, she has resolved to sweep on to the fulfilment of her long settled policy.—*Charleston (S. C.) Mercury.*

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THIRD DAY AND LAST.

MORE FUN—MELLEN PRONOUNCED UNRIPE—THE CLERGY DENOUNCED—SOJOURNER TRUTH TURNS UP.

Correspondence of the New York Daily Times.

BOSTON, Thursday, May 31, 1855.

THE Anti-Slavery folks have spent their expiring breath in fierce denunciations of the clergy, for failing to exercise toward red-hot Abolitionism that unbounded charity which sweet-tempered lovers of humanity are prone to talk of. There has been a great deal of vinegar, oil of vitriol, white mustard and black pepper, mingled up, this day, in the Melodeon. The mixture is enough to make a man sneeze roundly—true—but there is something to be had for the fishing, nevertheless.

MR. MELLEN DON'T GET A CHANCE.

Mr. George Washington Mellen is a gentleman. He wears glasses as a gentleman, has eyes and teeth, and nether garments of the bluest and whitest and most fashionable. So far, he is unexceptionable. And he ran for the office of President of the United States, but didn't run quite far enough; or, perhaps, he overran the mark, and so lost it altogether. Be that as it may. He has had no chance at all this year. That melon is undoubtedly unripe in the estimation of the assembled believers in equality. They wouldn't *let Mr. Mellen speak*, but ordered him to sit down ignominiously. The Boston papers say that his speech was "characteristic." Perhaps it was. However, he made no speech. He only ejaculated a few gasping sentences; and they were wide of the mark; so the President ordered him to sit down. A fruit untimely plucked, is Mr. Mellen.

DR. NEHEMIAH ADAMS ASCERTAINED TO BE A "DEVILISH FOOL."

Now, the Reverend Doctor Nehemiah Adams is a gentleman in the clerical profession here in Boston, who is widely known, considerably esteemed, and much bepuffed and be-abused in consequence of a certain light work for Summer reading which he indited a few months since, as the result of certain observations of Slavery *as it is*. Dr. Adams has achieved a reputation that brings him under the ban of all Abolitionists henceforth and ever. He will, I am assured, at once betake himself to the nearest forest, and there sustain a predatory warfare, like another "Robin Hood" in Sherword, against all the negroes that Ethiopia ever hatched or Garrison embraced. It is his only hope for safety after the merciless scratching, the hot vials of wrath, the stern scrapings of the sacrifiaial knife—inflicted, poured out and wielded by that terrible gentlemen, Mr. Stephen S. Foster, Abby's husband.

But, really, it was too bad in Foster to pitch into Dr. Adams and Dr. Blagden as he did. He reviewed the words of Adams, the prayers of Blagden (in Winter street); denounced the one and ridiculed the other. Foster waves his arms and shakes his spectacles like a lion roused when Adams's name is mentioned. In the midst of a diatribe, he gave utterance to sentiments concerning that venerable Divine which occasioned a hiss—and another—and finally a *third hiss*.

Mr. FOSTER stopped short. He asked the sibilant party to stand out. He wouldn't do it. He was then affectionately admonished to controvert this little sentiment: "That Dr. Adams is the meanest of all the mean men in Boston" [great sensation].

FOSTER—Will anybody attempt to prove that Dr. Adams is *not* a mean man?

OLD GENTLEMAN (gruffly)—Great deal rather attempt to prove that he is *a fool* [laughter and explosions of merriment].

FOSTER—My venerable friend here says he would rather prove that Adams is a fool. Now, I would say something still stronger than that, and if I should say it, I have Scripture authority for it. I would say that Dr. Adams is not only a fool, but that he is (with a shake) *a devilish fool* [immense sensation].

Mr. FOSTER was going on, but I got thirsty and left for an instant. When Foster finished,

MR. GARRISON WANTED MONEY.

Garrison is as great a believer in material aid as Governor Kossuth. He has made three earnest appeals to the pocket, between which portion of the integuments of Anti-Slavery and the heart there is not altogether that degree of sympathy that is most encouraging. The appeals have been forcible, and probably effective, as they have finally ceased with the adjournment.

MR. FOSTER RECANTS IN PART.

Mr. FOSTER occupied the morning hour with a partial recantation of his denunciations of Sumner, Wilson, &c., but adhered to what he had said about Mr. Parker—not venturing, however, upon again entering the lists with that redoubtable champion. Of Mr. Sumner, he said the opinions he (F.) had expressed had led to a misconception, and he was sorry for it, and proceeded to explain.

He had said that he was glad of the passage of the Fugitive Slave law, and that pistol shots fired in Kansas were musical to him. He had not exactly expressed the idea he intended to convey. What he meant to offer was that the passage of such obnoxious laws and the firing of such obnoxious pistols were indications of a diseased public sentiment, and this sentiment wants tearing up by the roots.

MR. BURLEIGH DON'T LIKE FOSTER.

C. C. BURLEIGH shook his mane, and roared at Foster for what he had said on the Fugitive law. He controverted all of Foster's positions, and held that the passage of the stringent laws, the annexation of Texas, and other progresses of Slavery, do *not* strengthen the Anti-Slavery cause, but rather tend to weaken it.

GARRISON SAYS WE ARE "PRACTICAL."

Mr. GARRISON defended the Abolitionists from the charge of failing to effect practical results. He claimed that the anti-slavery people have done a great deal. He anathematized the American Bible and the American Tract Societies for their sympathy with slaveholders.

THIRD DAY.

THE SPIRIT MOVETH SOJOURNER TRUTH.

Entering the Melodeon this morning (Thursday), I found SOJOURNER TRUTH, an elderly coloured lady, very well known, greatly moved by the spirit. Mrs. Truth had a song, the burden of which was

"I'm going straight to Canada-a,
Where coloured men are free-e-e-e!"

Sojourner is an old lady of 70 Summers, formerly a slave in New York—possesses a voice that rings like a clarion—and, though lank in the breast, has both bottom and speed. She sang her song twice, refrain and all, and wound up with the announcement that she had the words for sale *for five cents*; "ain't that cheap?"

Sojourner stood in the aisle, dispensing her song and copies of it, and harangued in a stentorian voice:

"Now, friends! don't be scar't."

HENRY C. WRIGHT—If those boys in the gallery don't stop throwing peanuts down upon the people, they will have to leave the house. [Boys subside.]

The speakers to-day were Mr. WHITING, of Marshfield, who beat Daniel Webster on his own hill by getting the people of the town to adopt strong anti-slavery resotions, and Rev. Mr. STETSON, of Scituate; beside some smaller fry.

INDUSTRY.

Two ladies entered the gallery and took from their reticules sundry needles and thread, and are now hemming pocket handkerchiefs assiduously, so as not to waste any time.

AN ODORIFEROUS COMPARISON.

Mr. WHITTING spoke some time and said that our offence is rank and *smells to heaven*. Which is very probable. Whiting, they say, is a shoemaker; I took him for a clergyman, only they don't allow such people to say much here, unless, indeed, it is said in a peculiar way.

GOD HAS NO RIGHTS.

Mr. STETSON denied that God has any right to decree men, women or children into slavery. And he (Mr. S.) did not believe that Deity every intented to assume such a right.

A SMALL YOUTH UP.

Mr. PHILLIPS planted the feet of a small boy on the table and called attention to the lad. As he would probably be a subject for the assistance of the *Underground Railroad* some day [great sensation]. It was hoped that somebody would be willing to take him into the family, so as to get him out of Boston as speedily as possible. I found this lad—he is very small, and very bright both in intellect and colour—quite averse to saying where he came from; *he would n't tell*. His name, however, is Charles Wilson; his shade, full half white; and he came in company with a lady who, he said, was Miss Stevens. His exhibition was quite an episode.

A dull speaker followed, and I came away before the finishing touches had been put to the Convention. It ends to-day. And so ends another yearly demonstration of the people whose spirits have been wonderfully plucked up by the favouring smiles of Providence. They are today all smiling and contented, and happy and enthusiastic, and fanatical and ungrammatic. Yet there is great sport in hearing their orators, and it is no wonder that numbers of the best citizens of Boston are attracted within the Melodeon's walls, very much on the same principle that they packed its next neighbour, the Boston Theatre, last night, to hear Vestvali and Steffanone in opera. It was a place to be entertained. I have been. I hope your readers are.

Yours, in the bond of sympathy. N.

ADDENDA.—I hear, by the way, that Wendell Phillips gave so much satisfaction by his effort at Union College, last July, that he has received fifty invitations to go to different places this commencement season. The number is pretty largely stated, but it is probably considerable. Mr. Phillips said a great many good things at Schenectady, and, although there was a quarrel whether he should be invited or no, everybody seemed to be satisfied. He has selected Dartmouth for this Summer, and goes there in commencement week.

THEODORE PARKER has been talking anti-slavery to the Quakers, in Chester County, Pennsylvania; has been to *Delaware*, and has just returned to Boston.

A ROWLAND FOR AN OLIVER.

KENTUCKY RETALIATING UPON MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Louisville *Journal* looks upon the Personal Liberty bill, recently passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, as a very offensive proceeding, and suggests the following remedy to the adoption of the South:

"If the States of the Union were unlimited sovereignties, they would have the means of redress in their own hands, and might place restrictions on trade, or even interdict it entirely, with States that enacted laws affecting injuriously the rights or property of their neighbours. In such a condition of things, self-interest alone would be potent enough to prevent neighbouring States from a persistence in hostile legislation. But at present the Federal Constitution restrains the States from such retaliatory means of redressing wrongs.

"The slave States cannot reach Massachusetts or her citizens except through the medium of some law that shall at the same time operate upon their own citizens. This can probably be done here by a well-devised license law. We believe that the exclusive jurisdiction of the States over the subject of licenses to sell goods, wares and merchandise has been affirmed by the competent tribunals of the country. The States have the right to fix the amount that shall be paid for a license to sell anything within their borders, or they can either grant or withhold licenses altogether for the vending of any goods they may deem it expedient to exclude from sale, except perhaps foreign goods on which import duties have been paid.

"Here, then, the people of the slave States have ample means of retaliating on Massachusetts. Let them pass a law in each of these States, at the next session of the Legislature, that will either refuse a license for the sale of anything the growth and produce of Massachusetts, or fix so high a price on the license for the sale of such goods that no person can afford to pay it. In either case adequate punishment must be provided against the violation of the law. It may be said that the law would be evaded by the purchase of Massachusetts goods in other States—in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c.

"To meet this case, the law may provide that a person in any State, selling to our merchants Massachusetts goods, knowing them to be such, and without giving them notice, shall be esteemed guilty of a fraud, and any obligation given for such goods shall be null and void. If, in addition to these legal provisions, the people of the slave States will resolve not to purchase or use the products of any State that shall legislate against the property of the people of the slave States, it will be still more certain to bring the people of those States to their senses. The operation of these measures, if they are rigidly and honestly carried out by the harmonious action of the legislators, merchants and people of the South, cannot fail to be so injurious to the industrial interests against which they are directed that the people affected will yield to the promptings of interest what they now deny to common honesty and the Constitution of the nation, and will repeal the laws of which the people of the South complain.

"All our readers can bear witness that we have never, under any circumstances, failed to oppose strenuously everything like sectional movements. We have always regarded such movements as having a strong tendency to weaken, and, finally, to dissolve, the bonds of the Union; and we have fought vehemently against them, whether originating in the North or in the South. We deprecated the Southern Convention at Nashville, and we have discouraged every invocation to citizens of the South, whether in one State or in many, to assemble and take into consideration the adoption of measures for the promotion of sectional objects. Even now, we see no diminution of the probable danger of such movements.

"But, if one section resorts to hostile legislation against another section, and, in spite of every consideration of justice and patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution, persists in it, the aggrieved section must, and should, and will retaliate, be the consequences what they may. If Masachusetts and other States see fit to adhere to their obnoxious, injurious and insulting statutes, in cutting off the South from the rights plainly guaranteed to her by the Constitution, the South will, most assuredly, at the very next session of her various Legislatures, resort to the adoption of retaliatory statutes of the most decisive and stringent character.

"It is very true that she may thereby injure her own interests; very likely she may do as great an injury to her own pecuniary interests as to those of the North, but this is a consideration that will not restrain her for a single moment. She will break off commercial intercourse with the offending States, and, if such a direful consequence as the dissolution of the Union should follow, she will look with stern calmness upon the result, trusting in her own strength and the goodness of Providence.

"We have written this in no blustering or threatening spirit. We have stated simply what is inevitable. The mischievous spirits of the North can receive it as they please."

Selections.

SPEECH OF MR. F. HENNING

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE TORONTO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

MR. PRESIDENT: In the absence of the gentleman on whom we had relied to second the motion so ably moved by Dr. Burns, I would, with your permission, beg to occupy his place; and I the rather do so, as I have some facts to present to the meeting which will satisfy them that my Rev. friend's remark regarding the American Board of Foreign Missions is not entirely correct when he stated that there can scarcely be any ground of complaint with it, since its recent action at Hartford. Sir, this is the ground assumed by the friends of the Board throughout the United States. They tell us, with an air of triumph, you have now no farther fault to find. "The late action covers the whole ground of duty for the Board in relation to slavery. Henceforth there can arise no question of principle between the Board and the anti-slavery sentiment of the Christian public. The whole subject of slavery, in relation to the Missionary work, is settled upon the eternal basis of right." Now, what, it may be asked, was the action of the Board upon which so much stress has been laid? Simply this: it refused to be bound by a law of the Choctaws which forbade the Missionaries of the Board to teach the coloured children in their Sunday Schools to read even the Word of God; and farther, the Board endorsed the letter of Mr. Treat, one of their Secretaries, who visited the Indian Missions in 1848. Now, whilst it must be admitted by all that, in doing this, the Board made a most important step in advance of its former position, still, when we consider the character of Mr. Treat's letter, and the circumstances of the country at the time of the Hartford meeting, I do not think that very much cause of self-gratulation exists. It must be remembered that Mr. Treat's celebrated letter of the 22d of June, 1848, nowhere speaks of slavery as a sin to be dealt with as other sins, and as a sufficient bar to admitting slaveholders to the communion table. It is true, it is severe against the *system* of slavery, but very tolerant of the *practice*. "A system of slavery," it says, "is always and everywhere sinful; but we do not believe that every act of slaveholding is sinful." Farther—"We do not claim that either Christ or his Apostles expressly condemned this system (domestic slavery) in the New Testament"; although he elsewhere admits that it is at war with the rights of man, and opposed to the principles of the Gospel. Such doctrine, then, is not and cannot be satisfactory to the consciences of anti-slavery Christians. It will not do for the Board, the most advanced member of which is only what is called anti-slavery—a very different thing, both in principle and practice, from being an Abolitionist, be it remembered—to tell us that we must be satisfied with their conduct, so long as "overt acts" of cruelty towards slaves are necessary to disqualify for church membership. But in forming an estimate of the value of the late action of the Board, it must be borne in mind that, at the time of the Hartford meeting, the anti-slavery sentiment of the North was raised to the strongest pitch, in consequence of the action of the Legislature in the Kansas and Nebraska matters; the encroachments of the Slave Power had begun to alarm the Northerners, and the members of the Board were wise enough to understand the signs of the times. "Outside pressure" was thus brought to bear upon them. The Rev. Dr. Beecher said, "If you fail to meet this issue, your influence is gone beyond the mountains. And you must do it now, or you never will have another chance." Rev. Dr. Pomeroy, one of the Secretaries, said "he felt that it might now be his duty to say that he believed that the feelings of the country are such that, though this action (a reference of the whole subject to the Prudential Committee, for the purpose of giving a quietus) might harmonize us here, it will not satisfy the people at large." The practical result of this may be learned from a statement of one of the most distinguished members of the Board, who voted to endorse Mr. Treat's letter, who, since that time, said to Mr. Tappan, of New York, "there will not, I presume, be any change at the Indian Missions on the subject of slavery." The position of the Board then, as stated by authority, is, in substance, this: "Slaveholding in itself is not sinful; the abuses of the system are to be regulated, and slaveholders are not to be excluded from the Church." Mr. President, I observe that an agent of the Board, in Great Britain, is giving the public there to understand that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Mrs. Stowe are now both [illegible] of the Board. Sir, this may be so, but I have never seen a line from the pen of either of them that could be construed into approbation of the Board; and I am informed by friends in the United States that this is not the case. And, Sir, we have confirmatory evidence of the truth of this in the following language, used by Mr. Beecher, only a few days ago, in his own pulpit. A collection was about to be taken up in behalf of missions; and, before the collectors went round, he said: "The money given that is not designated will be for the American Home Missionary Society. It has, as you know, its missionaries in all the Western States. The good it has done is well known to you, and your annual contributions have been regularly given to its treasury. But there is another Society that solicits your benefactions—the American Missionary Association. This is an Anti-Slavery Missionary Society; and a large number of you, I know, are interested in it. It has missionaries in the slave States, who establish Churches that *refuse fellowship with slaveholders. That is right; they ought to be barred out everywhere.*" The missionaries of the Board do not refuse fellowship with slaveholders, and therefore are wrong. Henry Ward Beecher is not the man to approve of what is wrong. The conclusion is plain. So much for the position of the Board.

Slavery, Sir, has corrupted the American Churches. The Rev. Dr. Perkins, one of the missionaries of the Board—a noble exception to the majority of American clergymen—in a late sermon, uses the following language: "American slavery is the crowning abomination of the nineteenth century; it is, perhaps, the greatest of human obstacles to the progress of the Gospel—the responsibility of its continuance rests much, if not mainly, with the Northern portion of our country, and especially *with the Churches and their ministers.*" A few noble exceptions there are; but, oh! how few, amongst the eight-and-twenty thousand Protestant clergymen of the United States. The Methodist Episcopal Church has 10,000 Sunday Schools, half a million of scholars, 100,000 teachers, and it has not a single anti-slavery Sunday school or teacher. It prints, on an average, 4,000 volumes per day, for 300 days in the year; but it never has printed a single line against slavery. The Orthodox Sunday School Union, in '53, spent one quarter of a million, but not a cent against slavery. It prints books by the million for Sunday schools, and but one of these books (it has been stated) has got a sentiment in it against slavery. That sentiment is contained in the beautiful lines of Cowper:

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me when I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews, bought and sold, have ever earned."

A sentiment which, from its unique character, deserves to be recorded. A few years ago, Mr. Gallaudet, of Connecticut, wrote a tract for the Sunday Schools about the selling of Joseph. It was steoreotyped, and was sent to the South. A little girl there read it, and she asked, if it was so wicked to sell Joseph to the Midianites, why was it not equally wicked to sell Dinah, and Sambo, and Pompey, and make them slaves? The Sunday school teachers reported this to head-quarters. The South sent a remonstrance to the Sunday School Society. You are poisoning us with your religion, said they. And what do you think the Sunday School Society did? It suppressed the tract, melted the stereotype plates, and now you cannot, for love or money, get a copy of it of the Sunday School Society. Well has it been said, this Society will not poison the South with religion, so long as they proceed on this system. Again, you have all lately heard of the action of the American Tract society. Its doings have been largely made known throughout Canada by the instrumentality, chiefly, of a well known gentleman in Stratford, and, therefore, on the present occasion, I will not advert to it farther than to say that the Society, last year, spent $800,000, visited five hundred and sixty-eight thousand families—more than three millions of persons. But it never said an anti-slavery word and never printed an anti-slavery line. They published books in eleven languages, but never a word of anti-slavery—no, not one. When it finds a British book that suits its purpose, they reprint it. But wherever the word "slavery" occurs, it is stricken out, and "iniquity" or "intemperance" inserted in its place. This great Evangelical Society has, as was recently stated in an article in the New York *Independent*, "for thirty years been testifying, in effect, that the institution of slavery, the buying and selling of human beings, and the profession of the slave trader, are less offensive to God, less contrary to the Gospel, less perilous to the souls of men than the practice of dancing." I might recite for hours, did your time and patience permit, facts illustrative of the pro-slavery tendency of these institutions, as well as of the American Church generally. The following must suffice. I find it recorded in a late number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* that the Rev. Dr. Adams, of Boston, author of the "South-Side View of Slavery," a most infamous production, has been recently elected a member of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society, and the man chosen to preach the next sermon before the American Board of Foreign Missions. Thus is he rewarded for advocating eternal slavery and for hinting that a return to the African Slave Trade would be a blessing. Dartmouth College, under the control of New England Congregationalists, has at the head of its faculty a Doctor of Divinity who believes and teaches that American slavery is an institution ordained and approved of by God. The President's chair of Amherst College, in Massachusetts, becoming vacant, was, not long since, filled by Dr. Stearns, an apologist for the Fugitive Slave law; and he has been appointed to preach the annual sermon before the American Congregational Union, next week, at its meeting in New York. Is it, then, to be wondered at that Abolitionists speak and write strongly on the mode in which the question of human freedom is treated by the American pulpit. Have they not had occasion to mourn that, in the high places of the church (to use the language of Coleridge),

"The sweet words
Of Christian promise—words that even yet
Might stem destruction, were they wisely preached—
Are muttered o'er by men whose tones proclaim
How flat and wearisome they feel their trade";

to denounce the hypocricy of those

"Who preach and kidnap men!
Give thanks, and rob God's own afflicted poor!
Talk of Christ's glorious liberty, and then
Bolt hard the captive's door."

KANSAS OUTRAGE.

THE following memorial, which has been circulated among the citizens of Kansas, is probably a faithful account of the recent election outrages in that Territory:

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled.

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens and residents of the Territory of Kansas, respectfully represents:

That a state of things exist in said Territory unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of our country, and which it becomes our solemn duty to lay before you, and, through you, before our fellow-citizens of the United States. Under the guarantee of your law for the organization of this Territory, and in consideration of the privileges which that law held out to us, we left our former homes, met the privations of an uninhabited country, and prepared for adding another republic to our Union.

The right of civil and religious liberty, the right of suffrage and self-government, were set up as the beacon lights which beckoned us on. As freemen we were invited, as freemen we came, and as freemen we expected to live. But we address you now as an outraged and subjugated people, disfranchised and enslaved, stripped of our dearest rights, and governed by a set of masters foreign to our soil, and responsible only to their own lawless will.

One of the States in our Union, strong in wealth, population and resources, relying upon her accumulated strength of almost half a century, and taking advantage of our feeble infancy as a people, has *invaded our soil, seized upon our rights, subjugated our Territory, and selected for us our rulers, intending, also, to dictate our laws and make us the slaves of their will.* This may well seem an almost incredible thing in the nineteenth century, and in this Republican Union—the peculiar and boasted land of liberty and self-government—but the evidence of it is as palpable and undeniable as the fact is bitter and mortifying to us, and disgraceful to the public.

This invasion of our soil and usurpation of our rights commenced at the first moment of calling those rights into action. The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impending force. It became, not what Americans have been proud to designate it, the exponent of the people's will, but was converted into the sword of the oppressor, to strike at civil liberty. So bold and reckless were our invaders that they cared not to conceal their attack.

They came upon us not in the guise of voters, to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly, to snatch it with the strong hand. They came directly from their homes, and in compact and organized bands, with arms in hand and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and, when their work was done, returned whence they came. It is unnecessary to enter into the complaint; it is enough to say that, in these districts in which, by the most irrefragible evidences, there were not one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in this mockery of the elective franchise, these voters polled over a thousand votes.

Loving our country and its institutions, we were willing, if this was to be only a solitary instance, to suffer it in silence, rather than to proclaim to the world that, even in this remote spot of our great country, civil liberty was but a name. Bitter and mournful experience has taught us, however, that this was no isolated act—no temporary ebullition—but *the commencement of a well matured and settled plan, by a large portion of the people of one of the States of our Union, permanently to enslave us, and constitute themselves our masters.*

On the 30th day of March last, we were again invited to the ballot-box, under the law which we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the State, had, through your body, enacted. Our vigilant and faithful Chief Magistrate had surrounded it with all the guards and precautions with which his authority invested him, and we were prepared to exercise the dearest and most cherished privilege of American citizens, with a full sense of the vital and interesting importance of this peculiar occasion.

The occasion came, and with it came our invading and self-constituted masters in thousands, and with the paraphernalia of war. They came organized in bands, with officers, and arms, and tents, and provisions, and munitions of war, as though they were marching upon a foreign foe, instead of their own unoffending fellow-citizens. Upon the principal road leading to our Territory, and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one camp alone contained not less than six hundred.

They arrived at their several destinations the night before the election, and, having pitched their camps and placed their sentries, waited for the coming day. Baggage wagons were there, with arms and ammunition for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field pieces ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their respective States. In the morning, they surrounded the polls, armed with guns, bowie-knives and revolvers, and declared their determination to vote at all hazards, and in spite of all consequences.

If the judges could be made to subserve their purposes, and receive their votes, and if no obstacle was cast in their way, the leaders exerted themselves to preserve peace and order in the conduct of the election; but at the same time did not hesitate to declare that, if not allowed to vote, they would proceed to any extremity in the destruction of life and property. If control of the polls could not be had otherwise, the judges were, by intimidation, and, if necessary, by violence, prevented from performing their duty; or, if unyielding in this respect, were driven from their post, and the vacancy filled in form by the persons on the ground; and whenever, by any means, they had obtained control of the Board, the foreign vote was promiscuously poured in, without discrimination or reserve, or the slightest care to conceal its nefarious illegality.

At one of the polls, two of the judges, having manfully stood up in the face of this armed mob and declared they would do their duty, one portion of the mob commenced to tear down the house, another proceeded to break in the door of the judges' room, whilst others, with drawn knives, posted themselves at the window, with the proclaimed purpose of killing any voter who would allow himself to be sworn. Voters were dragged from the window because they would not show their ticket or vote at the dictation of the mob, and the invaders declared openly at the polls that they would cut the throats of judges if they did not receive their votes without requiring an oath as to their residence.

The room was finally forced, and the judges, surrounded by an armed and excited crowd, were offered the alternatives of resignation or death, and five minutes were allowed for their decision. The ballot-box was seized, and, amid shouts of "Hurrah for Missouri," was carried into the mob. The two menaced judges then left the ground, together with all the resident citizens, except a few who acted in the outrage, because the result expected from it conformed to their views, and because it enabled the few to rule the many. When an excess of the foreign force was found to be had at one poll, detachments were sent to others, where it was supposed they might be needed.

At the polls adjoining the one above alluded to, one of the judges, a minister of the Gospel, who refused to accede to the demands of a similar mob of some four hundred armed and organized men, was driven by violence from his post, and the "vacancy" filled by themselves. Threats and violent demonstrations were rife; and another clergyman, for the expression of his opinion, was assaulted and beaten. The inhabitants of the District, powerless to resist the abundant supply of arms and ammunition, the organized preparation and the overwhelming numbers of these foreigners, left the polls without voting.

In the Lawrence District, where was the largest camp of these invaders, speeches were made to them by leading residents of Missouri, in which it was said that they would carry their purpose, if need be, at the point of the bayonet and the bowie-knife, and one voter was fired at as he was driven from the election ground. Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some two hundred men were drafted from the number, and sent off, under their proper officers, to another district, after which they still polled from this camp over seven hundred votes.

In the fourth and seventh Districts, along the Santa Fé road, similar scenes were enacted. The invaders came together in one armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and, the night before election, pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls, and having appointed their own judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence. In these two election districts, where the census shows one hundred voters, there were polled three hundred and fourteen votes, and the last fall seven hundred and sixty-five votes, though a large portion of the actual residents did not vote upon either occasion. In the sixteenth election district, hundreds of men came together, as in other cases, crossing the river from Missouri the day before election, and, encamping together, armed and provisioned, made the fiercest threats against the lives of the judges, and, during the night, called several times at the house of one of them for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring, in the presence of his wife, that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to say that these threats would have been carried out, yet they served to produce his resignation, and give these invaders, in the substitution, control of the polls; and on the morning of the election, a steamboat brought from the town of Weston, Mo., to Leavenworth, an accession to their numbers of several hundred more, who returned in the same boat, after depositing their votes. There were over nine hundred and fifty votes polled, besides from one hundred to one hundred and fifty actual residents who were deterred or discouraged from voting; while the census returns show but three hundred and eighty-five votes in the district a month later. Not less than six hundred votes were here given by these non-residents of the Territory, who voted without being sworn as to their qualifications, and immediately after the election returned to Missouri—some of them being the incumbents of important public offices there. Indeed, so well was the character of this foreign vote understood, that the judges struck out the prescribed form of return, the words, "by lawful resident voters."

We might continue the list of these sickening details until the blood of every freeman would boil with indignation, but it is useless. One more instance alone we will refer to. In the eighteenth election district, where the population was scarce, and no great amount of foreign votes was needed to overpower it, a detachment from Missouri, from sixty to one hundred, passed in, with a train of wagons, arms and ammunition, making their camp, the night before the election, near Morestown, the place of the polls, without even a pretext of residence, and returning immediately to Missouri after their work was done, their leader and captain being a distinguished citizen of Missouri, but late the presiding officer of the Senate of the United States, and who had bowie-knife and revolver belted around him, apparently ready to shed the blood of any man who refused to be enslaved. All these facts we are prepared to establish, if necessary, by proof that would be considered competent in a Court of Justice.

From a careful examination of the returns, we are satisfied that over three thousand votes were thus cast by the citizens and residents of the State, and that a very large portion of the residents were deterred or discouraged from going to the polls. If this condition of things is allowed to prevail, we are reduced to the state of a vassal province, and are governed by the State of Missouri.

It would be mere affectation in us to attempt to disguise the fact that the question of making Kansas a free State or slave State is at the bottom of this movement, and that the men who thus invade our soil and rob us of our liberties are from the pro-slavery men of Missouri, who are unwilling to submit the question to the people of Territory, and abide the compact between the North and the South, which the Kansas Nebraska bill contains.

The compact we want carried out, and by that test we want the question settled, if it can be; but there are few things that we would not prefer to the domination of irresponsible invaders from Missouri. The enactment is not only a law which States and individuals are bound to obey, but it is a comp

and dishes, and caused a general stampede among the blacks. A meeting then assembled, of citizens, and passed a resolution denunciatory of a white man named Richard Trunnel, who hired the hall of Mr. Forrest for the negroes.

"Three coloured *women*, belonging to Mr. G. Ridgely, who were on an errand, were met by the crowd, and were most *unmercifully beaten, being suspected of intending to go to the ball.*"

How the municipal authorities, who gave the permit to the negroes, but *dared not protect them in the enjoyment of it*, have sustained themselves after performing an act which the laws authorize them to perform, we know not. The owner of the hall (who, we think, is a Northern man) has been compelled to exonerate himself by showing that he rented it in ignorance of the fact that persons of colour were to occupy it in the enjoyment of a ball and festival, gotten up at their own expense, and by the special permission of the municipal authorities, and which would, no doubt, have been conducted with quite as much propriety as any entertainment of like character, in which the most refined of the white population of either Georgetown or Washington have participated during the past season. The greatest regal tyrants the world has ever seen have usually desired to see the masses of the people forgetting their political oppression in songs, and dances, and festivity, even commanding them to sing the Songs of Zion; but the oppression of American slavery is so fearful and malignant in its nature that the slave, in the evening hour, when the labours of the day are past, may not feast upon the good things he has bought, nor dance, nor be joyous, but must crouch before the jealous and tyrannical mob who rush in upon him, "demolish the crockery, glass, &c., destroy the viands, cause the frightened guests to flee in every direction," and beat *women* "unmercifully" whom they suspect of intending to go to the ball!

How long will this Republic be disgraced by the commission of such deeds, even at the very portals of its Capitol?

An *advertisement* in the Washington *Star* contain the following passage:

"When the company had assembled, and were about to commence their entertainment, a large number of white persons thrust themselves into the rooms, insulted the women, beat the men, and carried off the estables and devoured them more like beasts than civilized beings. Some of the women, to avoid insult, locked themselves up in a room; but the assailants awaited without for two hours, until they made their appearance, when was renewed the work of assault. The screams of these poor creatures were indeed terrible, and aroused many a family from their peaceful slumbers. During the first part of this occurrence (and nearly throughout) I observed a watchman, with his mace, standing quietly looking on, apparently enjoying the fun as much as the disturbers of the peace.

"Your correspondent is an extreme Southern Rights, pro-slavery man, raised in a slave State, and a citizen of a slave Commonwealth; but he must say such occurrences as above noted, aside from their annoyance to the neighbourhood, and the disgrace they attach to the town, are calculated to give weight to the arguments of the Northern fanatics. FACERE BONUM.

"P. S.—I learn that the ball was for the benefit of a poor widow (coloured) woman."—*National Era.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1855.

THIS WEEK'S PAPER.—We give up the whole of the inside of this week's paper to the report of the New England Convention, to the exclusion of everything else, and must cry the patience of correspondents in various quarters, whose communications are put aside for our next number. If our readers miss the usual variety, we are sure, at least, that we could hardly provide them with more profitable reading than they will find in the present sheet. We particularly call attention to the Remonstrance from Scotland.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE Annual NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION assembled in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Tuesday, May 29, at 10 o'clock, and was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

On motion, Samuel May, Jr., Andrew T. Foss and Mehitabel Haskell, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers of the Convention.

Opportunity for prayer was then given.

The following persons were nominated by the Committee as officers of the Convention, and, by a unanimous vote, were elected:

President.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Vice-Presidents.—Charles L. Remond, of Salem; Francis Jackson, of Boston; Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester; Benjamin Hutchinson, of New Hampshire; Lydia L. Bennett, of Maine; Samuel W. Wheeler, of Rhode Island; Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y.; Joseph Moore, of Pennsylvania.

Secretaries.—Samuel May, Jr., of Boston; Wm. P. Atkinson, of Boston; Aaron M. Powell, of Ghent, N. Y.

Business Committee.—Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, Anne Warren Weston, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles F. Hovey, Andrew T. Foss, Thomas Whitson, Henry C. Wright, Oliver Johnson, Wm. Wells Brown.

Finance Committee.—Lewis Ford, of Abington; Nathaniel B. Spooner, of Plymouth; Elbridge Sprague, of Abington; Samuel Dyer, of Abington.

While the Business Committee were in consultation, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., addressed a few remarks to the Convention, briefly sketching the progress of the cause in New England during the year past, and congratulating the Convention upon its future prospects. He contrasted the circumstances under which the Convention met this year with those of the last year, when a fellow-man lay chained in Boston Court-House, when the streets of Boston were filled with troops to protect the slave-hunter, and a Massachusetts Judge of Probate was consigning his equal brother to the chains, stripes, torture and degradation of Southern slavery. The incidents of that week had aroused a spirit in Massachusetts which had put the brand upon *Edward G. Loring* as a kidnapper, and would yet put it upon that treacherous man who, as Governor of the State, had stepped forward to shield Judge Loring from the clearly expressed and most righteous will of the people. Many other most encouraging results had come from the sorrowful and disgraceful events which transpired in this city a year ago; among which the Personal Liberty Bill, recently passed by the Legislature, in spite of the Governor's veto, was particularly mentioned.

G. W. STACY, of Milford, followed, expressing his joy in witnessing the anti-slavery growth of the past year, and urging to still further sacrifice in behalf of the cause.

By request of the Business Committee, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., read to the Convention, in an impressive manner, the "Friendly Remonstrance of the People of Scotland on the subject of Slavery," addressed to "The People of the United States." The "Remonstrance" well deserves the name given to it, being couched in most courteous and kindly language, and animated throughout by a thoroughly friendly and Christian spirit.

After the reading of the Remonstrance, Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolution:

1. Resolved, That the warmest thanks of this Convention be given to the ministers, churches and people of Scotland, for their address to the people of the United States on the subject of slavery, so fraternal in its spirit, so unexceptionable in its language, so faithful in its reproof, so timely in its appeal; that it cannot fail to make a deep impression on the American conscience wherever it is read, and that we shall gladly do what we may to secure for it a wide circulation.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. (by request), stated that copies of this Remonstrance, unexceptionable as it was in spirit and language, had been sent to two leading Southern journals, with the request that it might be inserted therein, and with the engagement to pay for such insertion; but those papers had not dared to publish it. And, so far as we can learn, *no religious journal* in the land had published it.

EDMUND QUINCY moved that the Secretaries of the Convention be a Committee to send a copy of the Remonstrance to each of the leading religious newspapers in the country, and to request its publication therein; and to make further efforts to secure its publication in Southern journals.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH advocated the resolution (No. 1) read by Mr. Garrison, and sustained it in a very earnest and eloquent speech, expressive of deep interest in the address, and of respect for its authors.

JOHN C. CLUER expressed the wish that another remonstrance might come from Scotland, addressed to Scotchmen in America, some of whom he knew to be among the most cruel slaveholders in the country, and one, at least, of whom was among the military force which aided in sending Anthony Burns from Boston into slavery.

S. S. FOSTER was glad of the Remonstrance, and would acknowledge it with thanks; but he did not estimate the anti-slavery of the religious bodies of Great Britain at a very high rate. He had just read, in a newspaper, that the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had recently taken action, admitting slaveholders to their communion as Christians. The English and Scotch Churches, he said, are not radically anti-slavery; they have been induced to utter their testimonies against slavery by the influence of a very few individuals, and would, he thought, gladly be spared the unpleasant duty of rebuking the slaveholding churches and ministers of the United States.

S. J. MAY thought that Mr. Foster had not dealt altogether fairly with the Address. He believed in the existence of a wide-spread and sincere anti-slavery feeling among the religious bodies of Great Britain and Ireland.

JAMES N. BUFFUM was very glad of the Remonstrance, and wished to vote for the resolution of thanks for it. He expressed his conviction that there is, in the Scottish church, a great amount of genuine and uncompromising anti-slavery.

OLIVER JOHNSON, of New York, spoke to the same effect.

Mr. GARRISON thought it strange that we should be found quarrelling with any anti-slavery testimony; he had no doubt that the churches and people of Scotland had given a sincere expression, in this Remonstrance, of their hostility to slavery; and it did not become us to go behind the document to inquire into the sincerity of the authors. He could see nothing in the document to which exception could be fairly taken.

The Resolution was then adopted by a unanimous vote; and the Convention adjourned to 2 3-4 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—EDMUND QUINCY in the Chair.

The motion made in the morning by Mr. Quincy (for the wider circulation of the Scottish Remonstance) came up in order.

WM. WELLS BROWN (who had lately returned from a residence of several years in England, Scotland, &c.) testified to the extensive prevalence of anti-slavery feeling amongst the religious bodies of those countries—a feeling which has already manifested itself in action, in several instances, among which was the case of that false priest, the *Rev.* Samuel Irenæus Prime, editor of the New York *Observer*, who was not allowed to participate at the anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on account of his pro-slavery sentiments.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, referred to the past course of the Boston newspapers, and of their reporters, in falsifying and caricaturing the debates of the Anti-Slavery meetings, and meanly using the privileges and courtesies granted to them in those meetings, to misrepresent and slander the speakers, and the doings of the same. In concluding his remarks, Mr. Garrison presented the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, whatever may be the principles or the measures of this Convention, it has a right to be reported fairly by the press, without caricature or misrepresentation, so that all may form a true and intelligent opinion of its proceedings; and,

Whereas, at each Anniversary of this Convention, year after year, its speeches and action have been basely and designedly falsified and misrepresented by the daily newspapers generally, in this city, notwithstanding every courtesy has been shown to their reporters on our platform; and,

Whereas, this scandalous outrage upon all that is decent, honourable and just—this systematic and unvarying course of low blackguardism and unblushing falsehood—has been too long permitted to pass unrebuked; therefore,

2. Resolved, That while this Convention is ready to grant every facility to the reporters of the press, and desires to be as fully reported as its proceedings may be deemed worthy of consideration, and while it asks for no exemption from honest criticism and manly rebuke, it will hold every press responsible for its account of its doings, to the extent of excluding from its platform every reporter who manifestly evinces a disposition to distort and burlesque what may transpire at its meetings.

This resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, further reported as follows:

3. Resolved, That the anti-slavery movement needs no higher eulogy than the fact that the combined phariseeism and ruffianism of the land are fiercely arrayed against it—that all that is vile, filthy, hypocritical, mobocratic and satanic, is seeking its utter suppression—that it repels from its advocacy the whole body of trimmers, demagogues, hunkers and tories in the land—and that it gathers around it such as recognise and revere the eternal principles of justice, such as are willing to be made of no reputation for righteousness' sake, and such as choose to take their lot with the down-trodden and oppressed, rather than with their proud and guilty oppressors.

Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, supported the resolution. He spoke of the confidence he had felt, in the early stages of the anti-slavery movement, that the churches and ministers would gladly take it up, and do honour to the name and cause of the Redeemer they professed to revere. He had been most bitterly and completely disappointed. He rehearsed, briefly, some facts in the history of the religious denominations of this country, especially the Baptists, with regard to slavery; and showed their complicity with the slaveholders and with slavery, down to the present hour.

JOHN ORVIS, of Boston, desired to offer a communication which he had received (as he thought) from the "spirit world," and been requested to communicate to this Convention, as coincident with its object.

After some objection, on a point of order, from S. S. Foster, and remarks in reply from Messrs. Garrison and Burleigh, the communication was read, and remarked upon by Mr. Orvis. Its purport was, that a new Union should be formed, for universal liberty.

The following resolution, introduced by the Finance Committee, was adopted:

Resolved, That, in order to defray the expenses of this Anti-Slavery Convention, the friends of the cause here present, or who may be present, be requested to contribute each the sum of one dollar, or such other sum as they may feel able to give, when called on by the Finance Committee.

Mr. GARRISON spoke in support of the third resolution. He showed how even those associations and bodies in the land which make the highest pretensions to excellence, to piety, to benevolence, succumb to the Slave Power. There is the American Bible Society, utterly passing by the four millions of perishing souls on the slave plantations of this country. Mr. Garrison did not doubt that the Society would be glad to give Bibles to the slaves; they are accustomed to seek out the benighted and degraded of other lands, and to carry to them the Bible; nor is any serious obstacle put in their way in this work by the prevailing powers in pagan and heathen lands. But in America there exists a body of men more fierce, more cruel, more corrupt, more devilish in their spirit than any to be found in heathendom—that body is the slaveholders. The Bible Society *dares* not carry the Bible to the oppressed and wretched victims of those men—they will not venture to contend with those tyrants—and so they succumb, and give up the slave, and their duty to the slave, and all care for the slave's soul. And the same might be said of the Tract Society and others. Thus these associations, claiming to represent the intelligence and piety of the land, and to be engaged in the cause of Jesus Christ, not only cower before the threats of the slaveholders, but become, of necessity, their accomplices—the chief bulwarks and support of the horrible system of American slavery. As it is, there is no such body or company to be found of enemies to Jesus Christ and his religion as the so-called ministers, churches and religious associations of the land.

Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER spoke on the subject of a general Convention of all opposed to the present Union, and desirous of a better government—as suggested in the communication read by Mr. Orvis, and afterwards advocated by Mr. Garrison.

HENRY C. WRIGHT urged the consideration of the subject of a new political confederacy, based upon justice, and securing freedom to every man.

Mr. GARRISON read from a Cleveland paper, called the *Golden Rule*, (!) the following canting complaint that the newspapers would insist in mixing up the Christian and the infidel Abolitionists together!

"Is it not wicked, *very* wicked, to class infidel Abolitionists with Christian Abolitionists? Editors do this, ministers from the pulpit do this. The most holy, zealous, self-sacrificing servants of God are classed with Garrisonites, Parker Pillsburyites! Is not this unjust? Is it not slander of the basest kind? And will not the Lord visit for this thing?

"The effort to make odious an opponent by slander and stigmatizing is quite common; the feeblest, meanest and most reckless minds resort to it, when hard pressed; but how are we pained, mortified, when religious editors, ministers, and grave D.D's stoop to this baseness! Surely, we have fallen upon perilous times!"

This, said Mr. G., would show to all new converts, who shrink from occupying the radical ground of the Abolitionists, that they cannot avoid getting identified with the radical Abolitionists, if they venture to oppose slavery at all.

The reading of this *very* pious lamentation cased a great outburst of laughter in the audience.

Adjourned to the evening.

EVENING.—FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

S. S. FOSTER reviewed the recent legislation in Massachusetts and other States, on freedom and slavery. He thought it all more or less pro-slavery, in the very important sense that it all recognised slavery as an institution of the nation, having certain rights, and entitled to certain concessions, and at least to a temporary continuance of its existence.

Mr. Foster criticised the programme of agitation of Rev. Theodore Parker, as laid down in his late speech in New York. His argument was, that the measures proposed were such as implied the pro-slavery character of the Constitution; and if that is the case, it should prevent any action whatever under it. Why propose to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia rather than in every State in the Union? Why set some future time rather than immediately? If the Constitution is an anti-slavery document, then the slaveholders are usurpers, and it is the duty of the North to march into the States of Carolina and Mississippi, and *compel* the slaveholders to emancipate their slaves under the Constitution. The agitation in Kansas was no increase of agitation—it did not greaten the difficulty—it only transferred it, and changed the conflict from one between black and white to one between white and white. The Kansas Bill and the Fugitive Slave Bill made the difficulty of slavery no worse; they hastened the day of emancipation. If you would cut down a tree, you would not cut off its branches; the heavier the branches, the more top-heavy—the sooner it will go over. Allowing all credit to Mr. Sumner and the political Abolitionists for honesty of purpose, Mr. Foster considered them still a great obstacle in the way of anti-slavery, in consequence of their diverting anti-slavery action to useless and impracticable objects. He compared it to his own efforts to make money, and get on in the world, very honest and very earnest, but unfortunately useless, because he *did not know how*, and take the right means. If the political Abolitionists, if all who hated slavery in Massachusetts, would meet the question face to face, and not waste their strength in side issues, they would be enough to abolish it.

The ministers, nine-tenths of them, in their hearts loathed and hated slavery. Dr. Adams himself had manliness enough to loathe his dirty work. But he must do the work, or not get his pay. Webster himself loathed his seventh of March speech; but he must make it, or not get his pay. Why did all the city ministers, or all who were looking city ward, palliate slavery?—all in the country the reverse?

Rev. THEODORE PARKER made a brief reply, saying that his programme embodied a course of measures for specific action; but he thought it did not imply, as certainly he did not believe, that the existence of slavery is rightful at any time. With John Wesley, he regarded it as "the sum of all villanies." He thought we were all sailing for the same port; and the chief difference between us was, whether we should take to the larboard or starboard in the prosecution of the voyage.

Mr. GARRISON differed from Mr. Foster, in regard to his expression of joy at the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill. He was sorry it passed—wished its repeal—could not rejoice at finding the national heart worse than he expected. If the Fugitive Slave Bill were not in the way, it would leave Abolitionists free to attack other points, and leave less work to do.

Mr. G. said he differed from his friend Mr. Parker, in regard to the necessity and duty of withdrawing from the American Government. It was not a question of expediency or policy—of no more importance than whether a ship, in the prosecution of her voyage, should tack to the larboard or starboard—but it was strictly, on our part, one of principle, of conscience, of self-respect, of moral consistency, of fidelity to the slave. Believing and knowing the American Union to be nothing but the supremacy of the Slave Power, and the Constitution "a covenant with death," how can we honestly or consistently swear to uphold them?

Mr. Garrison said that the jesuitical doctrine, "the end sanctifies the means," was too generally acted upon by political Abolitionists. Mr. Giddings, in a public discussion before his constituents, defended his position in Congress on the ground of expediency; because to be a Disunionist would prevent his holding his place in that body, and deprive him of the advantage of an influential position. His hatred of slavery was as great as that of any Abolitionist; but his philosophy of action he considered defective.

H. C. WRIGHT questioned the right of any man to enter into any political organization with slaveholders for the sake of the chance of getting the power to abolish slavery. Would you enter into a confederacy with sheep-stealers on the principle of putting down sheep-stealing, provided you could get the majority.

H. A. MORSE, of Holliston, interrupted Mr. Wright to say that he and Mr. Foster came to anti-slavery meetings for the purpose of abusing Mr. Sumner and the Free Soilers. ["Order" was called from all parts of the house.]

Mr. WRIGHT said that the best of the Northern Senators and Representatives, by going into Congress with slaveholders, acknowledge the equal rights of the slaveholders.

Mr. WHITING thought that Mr. Wright did not do justice to the position of the Free Soil politicians; they did not acknowledge the equal right of the slaveholders to do iniquity.

C. C. BURLEIGH followed in a stirring speech on the Constitution, and upon the impossibility of a clean anti-slavery action under it.

J. L. HATCH found much fault with the manner in which Mr. Sumner had been criticised by Messrs. Foster, Burleigh and Wright. He was repeatedly assured that no speaker had questioned, or did question, Mr. Sumner's integrity or honesty, but only the anti-slavery soundness and consistency of his position in the United States Government.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY.

Convention reassembled in the Melodeon, at 10 A. M. WENDELL PHILLIPS, President of the Convention, in the chair.

H. C. WRIGHT presented certain resolutions, and asked their reference to the Business Committee. He read, from the morning papers, an account of a prayer-meeting, yesterday, at the Winter street Church in Boston, at which Rev. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston (author of the "South Side View of Slavery"), presided, and led in prayer—a large number of other ministers, Drs. Beecher, Waterbury, Kirk and others, participating.

J. C. CLUER objected to one of the resolutions read by Mr. Wright, viz., that which commended certain action of the late Legislature, and went on to denounce that Legislature for their course towards foreigners.

The President reminded Mr. Cluer that it was not in order to discuss the Alien question in this Convention. Mr. Cluer thought it was a species of slavery; and ceased to speak, saying he could not stand on the anti-slavery platform with such a rule.

OLIVER JOHNSON moved that the next hour be devoted to hearing from the anti-slavery agents, who have visited different parts of the country during the year past.

The Convention agreed; and the hour was ably and interestingly occupied by remarks from AARON M. POWELL, who has laboured in central and north-eastern New York, and ANDREW T. FOSS, who spoke chiefly of his experiences in the States of Michigan and Indiana.

The President referred to the Anti-Slavery Convention held a year since in this place; to that week when Anthony Burns was in the Court-House, a prisoner, a victim of the Fugitive Slave law. During that week, no one of us could get sight of the imprisoned man, earnestly as we sought it. But though we could not, a year ago, see him in his court-house prison, I have now, said Mr. Phillips, the pleasure of introducing to you ANTHONY BURNS, on the platform, a FREEMAN.

Mr. BURNS came forward, amidst much applause, and said he rejoiced to be, for the first time in his life, in an Anti-Slavery Convention, and to thank all who had felt for him and had helped him.

A year ago, at this time, he was carried through the streets of Boston, a prisoner, and in the midst of troops, into the hell of Southern slavery. He did not then expect to be bought out of slavery, but he had the hope in his soul of seeing a free land again, and of feeling the breath of the free air in Canada, at least in the course of two or three years. He was thankful to God that, whereas he was a chattel, now he was a man, or, if he was not yet, he hoped to be. (Mr. Burns's remarks were received with much feeling and applause.)

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions:

Whereas, the popular religion of the land is thoroughly impregnated with the slaveholding spirit, and, from the organization of the government to the present time, has given its sanction to a colossal and ever-enlarging system of robbery, licentiousness, heathenism and soul-murder, until the victims thereof are counted by millions; and

Whereas, an extensive revival of this religion is said to be going on in Boston under the sanction and with the co-operation of such men as the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams and the Rev. Dr. Blagden, the defenders of slavery against every assault upon it; therefore,

4. Resolved, That the multiplication of converts to such a religion, instead of indicating any progress in the cause of justice, freedom and Christianity, or furnishing any occasion for congratulation, is a sure sign of moral degeneracy, judicial blindness, and pharisaical malignity, to be denounced as an imposture; and that such a "revival" is only a device of time-serving hirelings, to withdraw attention from the reforms of the age, and especially from the anti-slavery movement—to affect a zeal for God for the benefit of their craft—and to shield themselves from the condemnation which they deserve for their treachery to the rights of man.

5. Resolved, That the charge brought by Abolitionists against the Northern Church, that it is the bulwark of American slavery, finds its justification in much that transpires in what are denominated the religious anniversary meetings; and, as a special illustration of our meaning, we would point to the prayer meeting in the Winter Street Church, which was opened with prayer by the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, a man standing before the world as the confessed champion of slavery, and yet retaining the unimpaired confidence and fellowship of the evangelical (so called) churches. To such assemblies we commend the consideration of the 13th, 14th, and 15th verses of the 1st chapter of Isaiah: "Bring no more vain oblations, incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting." "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them." "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood."

6. Resolved, That, in our opinion, the removal of Judge Loring was demanded by justice, humanity, regard to law, and to the faith of Massachusetts pledged to the slave—that we desire to express our profound sense of the high principle and unyielding regard to the laws and wishes of Massachusetts evinced by the Legislature in asking, with so much unanimity, for his removal; and that we call on the Abolitionists of the Commonwealth to remember that this is no passing question of a day or a year, but that a law once violated stands violated till the transgression be fitly punished, and that duty to Massachusetts and the slave requires that we continue our demand of each successive Legislature for the removal of a Judge who proclaims his purpose to defy the laws and noblest sentiments of the State.

7. Resolved, That in Governor Gardner's veto of the Personal Liberty bill, and his refusal to remove Judge Loring, viewed in the light of his past life, we see no evidence of principle or of conscientious regard to law, but only the absurd ambition of a little mind, raised unexpectedly to an undeserved elevation, and so intoxicated with the accident as to deem such elevation evidence of fitness for a still higher place; that had he looked to the interests, the honour, the duty or the laws of Massachusetts, he would have concurred with the Legislature; but, seeking, as he did, only to propitiate a party then expected to become National, he disgraced the Commonwealth in revealing his own character; and those recent events which have crushed his hopes, and led him to seek reconciliation with the anti-slavery sentiment he once despised, have only served to manifest more palpably the servile and creeping ambition which actuates him.

8. Resolved, That the recent Legislature of Massachusetts, in abolishing separate schools for coloured children, in their vote for the removal of Edward Greely Loring from his official station as Judge, because he was found base enough to reduce a freeman to slavery, a man to the condition of a brute, and in the triumphant passage of the Personal Liberty bill over the veto of the Governor, are worthy of hearty commendation; inasmuch as they used the full extent of their political power, to give an emphatic condemnation of the malignant prejudice against colour, of the Fugitive Slave bill, and of the efforts of the Federal Government to override and crush the State Governments, and render them powerless to protect their citizens against Southern kidnappers.

9. Resolved, That we repudiate the idea of making "Slavery sectional and Liberty national," as false and most injurious to the anti-slavery cause, and do adopt as our watchword—"Liberty everywhere and Slavery nowhere"; and to this great consummation we will direct our energies till "liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," and the footprints of a slaveholder shall no more pollute any portion of our soil, and the wails and tears of a slave no more be heard or seen in our land.

S. S. FOSTER explained his meaning last evening in saying that he did not wish the Fugitive Slave law repealed; his reason being, that the existence of that law, and the attempts (successful or otherwise) to enforce it, were producing an effect against the institution of slavery, and all its upholders and apologists, far greater than could be produced in any other way.

Rev. Mr. CILLEY, of Boston (of the Freewill Baptist Church), objected to the fourth resolution, on the ground that, so far as he knew, Drs. Adams and Blagden had had no particular connection with the *revival* therein named.

After some discussion, in which it appeared that the ministers named were in full unity with the churches in which the "revival" was proceeding, the Convention adjourned.

AFTERNOON.—FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

C. C. BURLEIGH spoke in support of the resolutions, and in opposition to the views advocated by Mr. Foster in the morning, in regard to the Fugitive law and other slaveholders' measures. He thought Mr. Foster's philosophy a false one in this respect, and that we should never desire or rejoice in any evil, be it greater or less, nor cease to labour for its defeat or overthrow, because God is able to bring good out of evil, and cause the wrath of man to praise him.

WENDELL PHILLIPS appealed to the Convention to aid, by their contributions, the promulgation of anti-slavery principles. He illustrated in various ways the value of the agitation which, in past years, this Convention has so largely aided to keep up. He referred to the various measures of anti-slavery reform adopted by the recent Legislature, and in that connection paid a high compliment to the intelligence, industry, courtesy, and anti-slavery fidelity of the Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, Hon. Mr. Albee, of Marlboro'. Mr. Phillips remarked that he had heard that Gov. Gardner, since the news came of the Know-Nothing defeat in Virginia, was beginning to say that he had not understood the Legislature of Massachusetts! He had heard, too, that Gov. Gardner had a flag flying on his ground in Dorchester; and some one asked him if that was in honour of the Virginia election (!), and he replied, "No, 'tis only to see how the wind blows"!

Mr. GARRISON continued the appeal in behalf of a generous contribution to the anti-slavery cause. He then proceeded, with an overwhelming array of evidence, to demonstrate the utter faithlessness of the great body of the American churches and clergy to the cause and kingdom of Christ; deaf to the cries and insensible to the wrongs of more than three million slaves in the land, and propagating a religion hard as the nether mill-stone to the sufferings itself inflicts or excuses, utterly hostile to God, and Christ, and man.

Mr. Garrison spoke to the point of the charge against Abolitionists of being impracticable and inefficient talkers, who accomplished nothing. A fugitive slave arrives in Boston harbour—the Abolitionists not only talk: they rescue him, and place him in safety. They print and circulate tracts. The Fourth of July, desecrated by fulsome talk of freedom by all other classes, is used systematically by them to stir the heart of the community to its real duties to freedom; the First of August is used for the same purpose. We do not love strife for the sake of strife. Show us anything that needed to be done, and we have done it, if we could. We have made ourselves of no account. We have talked and acted at the same time consistently—acting against two thousand millions of dollars. We are here now for anti-slavery action. Mr. Garrison spoke of the audacity of calling the popular religion Christianity; the more revivals there are of it, the worse it is for everything good; they are salt which has lost its savour. There is the American Bible Society, the American Board of Commissioners, the American Tract Society—the men who manage them are hypocrites, time-servers; their hands are red with the blood of the slave. They are zealous to send the Gospel to the cannibals in Patagonia; they send missionaries to scale the walls of China, in order that the Bible may be distributed, and the tidings of salvation proclaimed; but they will have nothing to do (except to oppose it) with the struggle for the bodily, mental and spiritual redemption of four millions of heathenized and imbruted men, women and children at their own doors.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM censured Theodore Parker for saying anything in commendation of a clergyman (Rev. Dr. Gannett) who could have among his parishioners the man who sent Sims back into slavery. He also spoke of the uselessness of the men, as a class, who profess to be Christian ministers.

ANTHONY BURNS rose to make a statement in contradiction of a statement which had been made in reference to the conversation had with him in jail, on which Judge Loring mainly depended in sending him back into slavery. You may suppose, said he, how I felt when I saw my master enter the room in the Court-House where I was confined. "What made you run away?" said he. I said nothing. "Have not I treated you well?" I said nothing. "Have not I always given you money?" I said to him, he always gave me 12 1-2 cents a year; then he went on. That I said to Capt. Suttle, "How are you, master Charles?" or to Mr. Brent, "How are you, master William?" is a barefaced lie. I solemnly affirm that I never thought of repeating the words attributed to me. When taken before the Judge, I had handcuffs on my hands. I sometimes called the handcuffs bracelets, in the way of fun; but now I know well it is no matter for sport or fun. Satan could not have uttered a greater lie than that I ever said I wanted to go back. It is false that the Judge had a great deal of conversation with me, and a great deal of sympathy. All that he said to me was, if I desired counsel; but my master, with eyes like fire, stood by, and I could not speak. The Judge then said again—Do you desire counsel? I said I did. That was *all* the conversation he had with me. I was arrested for stealing. I should have been tried for that—that I was not, was very unjust of the Judge. Again, there was a mistake in the record. The Judge took testimony that I recognised Capt. Suttle as master, but would not allow the mistake in the record.

Inquiry was made of Mr. Burns, whether the handcuffs were on him in the Court. B. replied: "On the first day they were; but, the next morning, my counsel spoke against the irons being kept on my hands, and Butman, the officer, slipped them off, and said that they were not on." Mr. Burns showed the scars on his wrists of the irons he wore for four months in Virginia; and went on to speak, with deserved severity, of those Northern men who go South, eat at the slaveholders' tables, and drink their wine, &c., and then come home and say that slavery is a very good thing. If such a man could wear the handcuffs, and receive the lash for a few months, he would tell another story when he came home.

S. S. FOSTER appealed to the audience to know whether their second thought approved the cheers of sympathy which they had given to Anthony Burns. He has told us that the only gospel preached to the slaves was, "Servants, obey your masters." Do not the Northern ministers and churches teach the same? [No! said some present.] Mr. Foster affirmed that they did—that the vast proportion of the churches and clergy of Massachusetts are in full unity with the Southern clergy and churches on this point. A gentleman present (who afterwards gave his name as Rev. E. H. Plumb, Universalist minister of Warren) insisted that two entire denominations in the State are anti-slavery. Being asked what two, he said, the Unitarians and Universalists. Mr. Foster said the strongest pro-slavery influence in the city where he lived (Worcester) is Unitarian. The pastor of the second Unitarian Church was ready to allow him [Mr. Foster] the opportunity to speak in his pulpit, but the members of his Society prevented it.

Mr. PLUMB still insisted that the Unitarians and Universalists generally were anti-slavery.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., stated the fact that, as General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the past eight years, it had been a constant desire and effort with him to get the houses and pulpits of the various religious denominations open to the anti-slavery cause, either for himself or for some other advocate of the cause. Of the whole number of Unitarian Societies in the State, he did not know of twenty which were opened to an anti-slavery meeting, or to a discourse from an anti-slavery clergyman of unblemished character. There might be more than twenty Unitarian *ministers* ready to open their pulpits, but their hands are tied. He had no memorandum at hand to refer to, but repeated that, so far as he had ascertained by a long experience, there were not over twenty Unitarian Societies in the States, nor more than ten Universalist, which could with any justice or propriety be called anti-slavery.

Rev. C. NIGHTINGALE (Unitarian) declared that his pulpit was open, and always had been open, to the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Plumb was asked if his pulpit were open. Mr. Plumb asked in reply, whether clergymen owned the churches?

JOHN M. SPEAR said that no answer would be obtained of Mr. Plumb. He could testify, with regard to the Universalist body, that after he identified himself with anti-slavery and with Mr. Garrison, he never got an appointment from the *Trumpet* office, whence all appointments to preach emanated; and this was given to him as the reason.

JOSEPH MERRILL, of Danvers, said he had long been connected with the Universalist body, and he could testify that there was but one Universalist church in Essex County open to the anti-slavery cause.

Rev. A. P. CLEVERLY [Universalist minister at Milton] said that his church was open to Messrs. Garrison, May, and other respectable men, black or white; or if closed to them, it was closed to him also.

Mr. BROWN said that his pulpit, as far as under his control, was open to anti-slavery speakers.

A Universalist minister present said that the church in question—in Warren—was once granted to an anti-slavery speaker. On arriving at the house, it was found closed, and it was kept closed, and the speaker addressed the audience from the meeting-house steps.

Mr. FOSTER—at length recovering the floor—declared that the pulpits of Boston had taught the citizens of Boston to arm themselves and carry Anthony Burns into slavery. He quoted Dr. Sharp, Dr. Rogers, Dr. Adams, Dr. Gannett, Dr. Blagden, to the point of the duty of sustaining the Fugitive Slave law, and to shoot down such as might resist.

Rev. J. PIERPONT said that, although what Mr. Foster said of Mr. Gannett might have been true a year ago, he thought it was not now. He related how Dr. Gannett had refused to exchange pulpits with him, expressly on the ground that he [Mr. P.] had, at a Springfield Convention, affirmed that the law of God was superior in authority to the laws made by Congress; and the Fugitive Slave law, being in violation of the Law of God, ought not to be obeyed. That was four years ago, and for four years this non-intercourse had lasted. But a month ago, he received a friendly note from Dr. Gannett, inviting him to exchange pulpits with him, and to attend a ministerial association meeting at his house, which he did.

S. MAY, Jr., came forward to inquire of Mr. Pierpont whether it was not plainly Dr. Gannett's duty, if he had undergone a change, in regard to slavery, frankly to make it known—acknowledge the wrong he had done to the anti-slavery cause, and to its advocates—why not frankly and generously say to Mr. Pierpont, that he regretted the unjust censure he had cast upon him for nobly counselling disobedience to the Fugitive Slave law, instead of approaching him in an underhand way, as now, and, utterly ignoring the past, say, "We have made one or two ineffectual attempts to exchange (!)—will you exchange with me now?" The time was when Dr. Gannett openly said, and it was known and published everywhere, "If a fugitive slave came to my door, asking shelter and food, I should turn him [or her] from the door." And again he had openly said—"The leading men of my Society tell me, if the Fugitive Law is not enforced, the Union will be destroyed, and I shall go for the enforcement of the law." And now, said Mr. May, that the times have changed, that the anti-slavery tide is rising, the anti-slavery temperature around him is getting warmer, Dr. Gannett finds it convenient to be on good terms, and exchange pulpits and civilities with an old-fashioned minister like Mr. Pierpont. This is no way for Dr. Gannett to command respect. It is sinning in the open air—in State street—and repenting in the chimney-corner.

S. S. FOSTER asked if Mr. Pierpont had invalidated, by his statement, the remarks he made about Dr. Gannett. Did not Dr. G. teach that the Fugitive Law must be executed? Did he not volunteer to say that George T. Curtis had the most honourable motives in his course?

Rev. Mr. NIGHTINGALE objected that Dr. Gannett's language referred to was spoken four your ago, and that he had since preached a sermon in which he had said better dissolve the Union than execute the Fugitive Slave law.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., said that he believed Dr. Gannett's language and meaning were not accurately quoted; he had read Dr. Gannett's sermon referred to, and his recollection was, that Dr. G. said that, rather than continue to submit to such encroachments upon Northern rights, he should be ready to advocate a dissolution of the Union.

S. S. FOSTER.—Yes! that is it. It is the *encroachments upon the North*—not the gross outrages upon three million of our brethren and sisters at the South.

The Convention adjourned till evening.

EVENING.—WENDELL PHILLIPS in the chair.

Notwithstanding the admission fee, and the long series of meetings preceding the evening session, a very large and most intelligent and deeply interested audience filled the Melodeon, and remained to a late hour—the first speaker being the Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, who, on taking the platform, was most enthusiastically applauded, and spoke in the following impressive and eloquent manner.

SPEECH OF REV. MR. HIGGINSON.

MR.

streets through which the procession passed had to be lined with soldiers, to keep back the population of Rome, in their just indignation. Do you remember the scene in this city of Boston one year ago? Do you think those soldiers were needed to keep back the population of *Boston?* I tell you that the Marshal's guard would have been sufficient, if there had not been all Massachusetts behind Boston at that moment, to press Boston on within three inches of revolution; and next time, perhaps, those three inches will be overpast (applause).

No, sir, we have nothing to boast of; least of all, the clergy, whose work it is to bring up the people from this low moral condition in which they linger now. We boast of little things, Mr. Chairman. Ever since I knew anything about the anti-slavery movement, the great bane of it has been, that we have all thought too much of little triumphs; we were pleased too cheap; we had too much hope. If one election went the right way, if one fugitive was rescued by night in Boston, and sent through Worcester to Canada—if one act on the right side was passed by the Legislature—we thought (I mean, the people thought, not every one, not the wisest) that the work was done, that there was no more danger, and so our vigilance was relaxed, until next time, when we found that the work had to be done all over again. I see, in the reception of the late anti-slavery triumphs, the same danger. I rejoice, for one, that something has been done to check the current of these triumphs. I rejoice at the veto of Governor Gardner. I rejoice that he refused to remove Judge Loring, and I will tell you why: because, if Judge Loring had been removed at first, it would have been a triumph indeed; but, after so long argument, for Governor Gardner to have removed him, would have been a triumph on Governor Gardner's side—and the Governor needed one. He needed one, and we needed a check. We had had too many things to make us sanguine, and, as in those ancient times, when the Emperor went on one of his great triumphal marches through the city, he had a slave at his shoulder to whisper to him, "Remember that thou art a man!" so we need Edward Greely Loring, still sitting in his place as Judge of Probate, to say to us, "Remember that Massachusetts is still pro-slavery, and you have yet a work before you to do" (applause).

I tell you, sir, and those of our friends who think they are Abolitionists, and have enlisted for the war, that the war has yet a great many years to last. I tell you, times may come again in Massachusetts that will call as loudly for manhood as did the times a year ago. I tell you that you have "scotched the snake, not killed it," and you will find it so. Why be so pleased at that victory of a few defendants in the United States Court-House over Judge Curtis? That was easily accounted for. It was not strange that where all the power of argument, and all the influence of personal presence, and all the weight of the public opinion of the State, were on one side, it was not strange that Judge Curtis did, for once, bow to the will of the people. Do you suppose that Judge Curtis is "born again," and abolitionized, because we beat him that time? You will find your mistake if you do. "Circumstances alter cases"—and *Curtises* (laughter and cheers). If you had looked in there once in a while, as I did (I believe you, Mr. President, never cared enough about the matter to look in at all), and seen what Judge Curtis had to see, you might have changed your opinion of his course. Do you think it is in mortal man, be he Curtis or be he something lower or blacker, to sit on his judicial seat, day after day, and see Theodore Parker sitting there like a recording angel, with pen in hand, writing sheet after sheet, and know that was all coming down on his head at last, and not feel it? (Applause.) If you do, you overrate the stuff of which United States Judges are made. I tell you, it is not strange that the judgment was pronounced before all the arguments were heard! "Coming events cast their shadows before"; especially when one of them is the rather broad shadow of John P. Hale—"may his shadow never be less"! (Loud cheers.) It is the old story of Captain Scott and his coon—nothing more nor less. When Phillipses and Hales stand behind the rifle, coons and Curtises come down! (Great applause.) They come down and counterfeit death, both of them; but they are up again, as soon as the danger is past.

No, sir, we have got more work before us than is imagined by these too sanguine friends of ours. There is that "Personal Liberty bill." I heard one of the men who was on trial in the cases that grew out of Anthony Burns's arrest say, since the passage of the "Personal Liberty bill," that we should have no more trouble in Massachusetts. I envy the peace of mind of this man, but I should be sorry to be thrown off my guard quite so easily. Protection by law in Massachusetts! There has been law enough to protect every slave that was ever carried over her borders, if we could have got the law enforced. In the Sims case, CHARLES SUMNER—and he is commonly considered a good lawyer—said to Sheriff Eveleth, eagerly, "If the laws of Massachusetts are executed, that man is in no more danger of being carried back than you or I; and I hold you responsible." But what was the use of holding Sheriff Eveleth responsible? Yet what more could he say under the "Personal Liberty bill" than that? In the Sims case, on one of those mornings when the Boston police indulged themselves with a parade in Court Square, as I was looking on—it was about five minutes after Marshal Tukey had threatened to arrest our friend William H. Channing, for laughing at the rather extraordinary manœuvres of a raw recruit—that officer approached me, and said, "I know that I am violationg the laws of Massachusetts just as well as you do; but what then? I am under the orders of the Mayor and Aldermen." What more can your "Personal Liberty bill" give us than that? Laws are good tools, good instruments, but a "Personal Liberty Bill" without men to enforce it is like the steam fire engine—worth all your other engines put together when properly operated, but when taken to pieces and stored away in a stable, what good is it going to do anybody?

We do not want "Personal Liberty bills" so much as we want a man with a backbone for Governor of Massachusetts! (Cheers.) When are we going to get him!

A VOICE—Next Fall.

Mr. HIGGINSON—Next Fall? Well, I hope you will not be disappointed. But what did the *Telegraph* newspaper say last Fall—the only anti-slavery paper belonging to Boston—

A VOICE—Except the *Liberator*.

Mr. HIGGINSON—*That* does not belong to Boston; it belongs to the world (cheers). The Boston *Telegraph*, in criticising the course of Governor Washburn, said: "Under these circumstances, we must consider what kind of a man there was to act. Governor Washburn probably acted as he thought best. A man with a backbone, like Henry Wilson, *or Mr. Gardner*, would have acted differently." That was before last Fall. Then, the election was going to be *next* Fall, and Mr. Gardner was the man whom enthusiastic but not very far-sighted persons in the back part of the Melodeon expected to elect Governor, and make the thing all right. No, sir, the difficulty is not with the politicians—it lies behind them. The politicians reflect their constituencies. The people of Massachusetts, with all their professions, have not yet got to the pitch of wanting a man with a backbone for Governor. If they have, why did they choose Mr. Gardner, after every act of his previous political life had been sifted, and his character written upon the wall in pretty plain words. The difficulty lies behind the politicians, sir: it lies with the people; and it is we, it is you, and it is all of us working on the anti-slavery platform, who have got to bring Massachusetts up to the pitch of opposing the Fugitive Slave law, before we shall get any thing under the name of freedom here that is worth the name.

I do not attach, sir, the same meaning to the word "freedom" that many persons seem to do. I do not call it freedom to have a black man in the streets of Boston, with as much right to his freedom as you or I have, and be obliged to take that man by night and send him across the country to Canada; I do not call that freedom. Ay, sir, we talk about liberty being national and slavery sectional, and say that now slavery is national and freedom sectional. The difficulty I find is, that freedom is not even *sectional*; it is not even a "peculiar institution." If it is, where is it located? Where is the spot or square inch of our territory on which you can put your finger, and say, "Here freedom dwells"? I never was there. I should like to go there. I have been to Bunker Hill—it is not there. I have been to Lexington—it is not there. I have been to Concord—it is not there. They say that there is a land of the west—not under a republican government, you have to go under a monarchy to reach it—where the black man can stand and call his soul and body his own. I went there, the last winter, and I blush to own that, when I stood on Canadian soil, I felt that thrill of freedom I had sought for in vain at Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker Hill. I stood in a place where I could give free vent to my impulses of freedom, and not be afraid of the Boston police while doing it. It is a strange sensation, friends. I advise you to go there and try it.

Do not be cheated by what men tell you. It is not freedom to meet a man in the street and feel that, in order to save him from the wickedest bondage on earth, there is no other way but to give him a dollar, tell him there is the railroad, and those iron tracks lead to Canada and freedom. The underground railroad is not freedom. We boast of that—*boast of it!* I tell you, sir, the Underground Railroad is a shame and disgrace to every spot except the place which is its terminus (cheers). There it is honourable. I blush to think that the fugitive slave should ever have to pass through Worcester; and I thank God no one ever did pass through without my doing all I could to make him stay.

No, sir; what we want is not to dream of a land of freedom somewhere at the west, but to *make* a land of freedom *here* (applause); not to send slaves to Canada, but to make Canada on the spot where we stand (loud cheers). There is some honour in that. It is not to be done without danger; it is not to be done without revolution; for the instant you begin to do it, a revolution has begun in you. Where on earth are there such materials for revolution as here. We talk of the dangers of Europe. What country of Europe has anything to exhibit as materials for revolution compared with ours? Where in Europe is there such antagonism as exists on our soil—two such powers brought in conflict, freedom on the one side and slavery on the other? I do not know where it is. It is not so in Russia. In Russia, all are slaves. The serf is a slave to the master; the master is a slave to the noble; the noble is a slave to the higher noble; the higher noble is a slave to the minister; the minister is a slave to the Czar; and the Czar is a slave to the fear of assassination. In Russia, everybody is a slave. There is no antagonism there; there is no material for a revolution. But here, all our dreams are of freedom, and all our practice has to be conformed to slavery. America takes us and brings us into a land of so-called liberty; feeds us on Declarations of Independence, Fourth of July orations and the ballot-box, and then, when she has exhausted all her teachings, and turned us out free men in heart indeed, what does she do with us? She shoots us down in the streets of Boston, if we try to put her lessons in practice. There is revolution for you, and all the materials for revolution—materials such as exist nowhere else on earth.

Did you ever hear what were the last words of our Senator in Congress, that noble man, JOHN DAVIS—for I call him a noble man, because, in his instincts, he was always true to freedom. His first impulses were always for freedom. When bound down and corrupted by the atmosphere of slavery, if he was left free for one moment to forget policy, the noble impulses of his nature came up, and he was a man again. Did you ever hear what his last words at Washington were? It is a conversation which CHARLES SUMNER told me, and which I should not dare repeat if CHARLES SUMNER had ever told it in public himself; but I believe he has not. It was the last night of Mr. Davis's Congressional career. The clock was approaching the hour of twelve, and the old man sat quietly in his seat, waiting for the end of his long public life. Senators who had known him for so many years stood by, watching him, to see if they could mark any change in his quiet face. They saw none. The clock struck twelve at last, and the old man rose from his seat with the last stroke, and took his place outside the railing, no more a Senator, but a humble, private man. His successor had not been appointed; there was no reason why he should resign his seat; his friends urged him to retain it, simply from courtesy, if nothing more; but he said, "No! my public life is ended," and went home to his hotel. Mr. Sumner followed him, wishing to present his compliments and respects on the conclusion of his long term of service. As he entered the door of Mr. Davis's parlour, he found the old man sitting with his elbows on the table, and his face buried in his hands, absorbed in thought. Said Mr. Davis, "Would you like to hear what are the thoughts passing through my mind at the end of this, my long experience?" "Yes, certainly," was the reply; "the thoughts of such a man, at such a time, must be deeply interesting." "Well, sir," said the veteran, drawing himself up, "this is the consummation of the whole: Here in our National Government, Slavery rules everything, Mr. Sumner; *Slavery rules everything!*" ("Hear," "hear.") Yes, CHARLES SUMNER did hear, and made other people hear, to some purpose (cheers). Mr. DAVIS, of whom we had all complained, whose course we had all regarded as not being sufficiently true to freedom on great emergencies, at last came to the simple conclusion that Mr. GARRISON had been an outcast for twenty years for uttering the important truth, that "*Slavery rules everything!*" (Cheers.) Everything? No, there is one thing that Slavery does not rule, and never can rule, and that is, the hearts of Abolitionists! (Loud applause.) That alone is the preservation of this Union from destruction. Do not confound Disunion with destruction. Union with Slavery is destruction ("hear," "hear"); Disunion from Slavery is safety! ("Hear," "hear," and loud cheers.) While Slavery is building up its power upon one hand, Freedom is marshalling its forces on the other; and the time is surely before us—politicians are beginning to see it already—when these two mighty forces will come together with a shock like that when those great vessels met in the Atlantic ocean, and you know what followed. God grant that the name of that hapless bark may not be prophetic, and that, in this case, it may not be the NORTH—the "ARCTIC"—that will stagger and go down! (Prolonged cheering.)

Mr. HIGGINSON was succeeded by Mr. ERNESTINE L. ROSE, of New York (a native of Poland), who, on taking the platform, was warmly applauded.

[Want of room compels us to omit the Report of Mrs. Rose's Speech.]

THURSDAY.

Reassembled in the Melodeon, WENDELL PHILLIPS in the chair.

NATHANIEL H. WHITING, of Marshfield, objected to what had been said of forming a new political Confederacy, that the materials did not exist out of which to form it. The timber must be got ready before the house can be built.

Rev. C. STETSON, of South Scituate, made an eloquent speech. He said he had no patience with the apologists of slavery at this day. He had recently met such a one, and, he was sorry to say, a woman. He could not possibly allow such a person, in the same day, credit for both common sense and common honesty. In the course of his remarks, he spoke of a Savannah gentleman whom he met a few days since, and who told him that the people of the South held Dr. Nehemiah Adams (and all such apologists for slavery) in *supreme contempt*. We don't want, he said, to be patronized and patted on the back by anybody. We defend slavery on the ground of a divine sanction, and we want nobody to apologize for it.

The President lifted to the table a beautiful little boy of about five years old, with curly hair and brown complexion, liable, as he said, to need the aid of the Underground Railroad, for whom a safe and quiet home was wanted—his mother being poor.

Rev. D. A. WASSON, of Georgetown, differed from those who say that the only way to war upon the institution of slavery is to dissolve the Union with slaveholders. If I caught a robber in my house, said Mr. W., I would compel him to stay at least till he had given up the plundered goods. So I would keep the slaveholders in the Union, untill they gave up the plundered property. Let us only have such a North as we should have, and we could take those robber-States by the throat, and compel them to liberate their slaves. Mr. W. would not be considered as uttering any censure on those from whom he differed. I know, said he, the intelligence, honesty, self-sacrifice they bring to the cause. My difference from them is one of judgment, rather than of heart. I hope that we may yet preserve the Union for freedom, and fill the entire country and continent with freedom.

S. S. FOSTER asked Mr. Wasson—"Would you receive a fugitive slave to your house? Yes, said Mr. W. Would you have me do so? Yes, said Mr. F. Would you have Massachusetts protect the slave? Yes. Would you have Massachusetts go to South Carolina, to help re-enslave those who should strike for their freedom? No. I would have her go for the purpose of helping the slave. You would then have Massachusetts array herself against the Federal Union? Yes. Mr. Foster thought this was virtual disunion.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE explained a new association which had been formed in this city for the protection of fugitive slaves, and of those who might defend them, under the name of the "Defensive League of Freedom."

Rev. J. PIERPONT asked leave to take a text or two as the basis of his remarks: "No man can take them out of my Father's hands," and the words of St. Paul, "An idol is nothing in the world"; and proceeded to argue that no *obligation* rests upon any body in the country to obey the Fugitive Slave law, or any other law for slavery—whether the Constitution provides for it or not—on the ground that it is essentially wrong and wicked, and, therefore, invalid, dead, "nothing in the world." This, he contended was a well-established maxim of common law, and quoted Blackstone. He contended for the nullity of the so-called Fugitive Slave clause in the Constitution, on the ground, 1st, of grammatical construction of the language; 2d, of its being an act without any consideration; and, 3d, of its immorality.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:

10. Resolved, That the American Union is the supremacy of the bowie-knife, the revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law, over freedom of speech, of the press, of conscience, of locomotion in more than one half of the nation—and the degrading vassalage of the entire North to the accursed Slave Power; that no other Union has existed since the adoption of the United States Constitution; that such a Union is to be resisted, denounced and abandoned, by every lover of liberty, until its utter overthrow shall be consummated; and that, to effect this glorious object, there should be one united shout of "*No Union with slaveholders, religiously or politically!*"

AFTERNOON.—CHARLES L. REMOND in the chair.

The Convention was ably and most interestingly addressed by W. L. GARRISON, SAMUEL J. MAY, JOHN PIERPONT, FRANCIS W. BIRD and C. C. BURLEIGH. A full sketch of their remarks, from a phonographic report, may be expected.

In the course of the remarks of Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse, that gentleman spoke of the deep interest with which he had listened, that morning, to an address at the Unitarian Ministers' Conference, by Mr. M. D. Conway, of Washington City. Mr. C. is a Virginian by birth, but a very decided opponent of slavery. Mr. Conway said that, having travelled extensively in Virginia during the past year, he had been much struck at finding how little sensibility exists among the great body of the people there to the *sinfulness* of slavery. Many are alive to its *evils*, but few recognise its sinfulness; and how can it be expected (was the young Virginian's question to his Northern ministerial brethren) that they should be alive to that matter, while you of the North quietly continue in a Union with them, and make religiously no appeal or remonstrance? The question, said Mr. May, was so pertinent and conclusive, and put to us with so much earnestness, as to be deeply impressive; that I, for one, never felt more forcibly the criminality of our Union with the slaveholding States. Mr. M. illustrated the corrupting influences of that Union on Northern minds by the books emanating from Northern presses, adapted to Southern markets and views; and said that he had just heard, with astonishment and sorrow, that from the last edition of the AMERICAN FIRST CLASS BOOK—a work familiarly known to many of the audience, and compiled by our friend, now present, Rev. John Pierpont—*the anti-slavery pieces had been omitted!* The pieces were, Cowper's well-known lines, "I would not have a slave to till my ground," &c., a piece by Montgomery, rebuking professed Christians who participate in slavery, and an extract from Daniel Webster's Plymouth Oration, in 1822, condemnatory of the Slave Trade. By whose authority these were omitted, Mr. May did not know; but he had seldom heard of anything which caused him more regret.

Subsequently, Mr. PIERPONT remarked that, whatever the omissions were, *he was responsible for them.* In obedience to a law of this State, he had felt it his duty to omit certain pieces which opposed the tenets of a particular class of Christians. He had also pursued the same course as to pieces bearing upon party politics; the question of *slavery* had come to mix largely with politics, and therefore he had omitted the pieces on that subject.

Rev. Mr. MAY again expressed himself deeply pained with what he had learned, and also with what he had just heard. And this seemed to be the universal feeling in the audience.

EVENING.—EDMUND QUINCY in the chair.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

11. Resolved, That in the demise of CYRUS M. BURLEIGH, so long and so usefully identified with the anti slavery enterprise as a lecturer and editor, that enterprise was bereft of a brave, clear-sighted and uncompromising advocate, whose rare example of youthful self-consecration and manly devotedness is worthy of universal imitation, and should keep his name in grateful remembrance among those who still live to share the labours and toils from which he was so early removed.

12. Resolved, That in the invasion of Kansas by the armed ruffians and brigands of Missouri—the subversion by them of all the legitimate forms and functions of government—the usurpation of all legislative power—their audacious defiance of the free spirit of the North—the sanction of all their high-handed villanies, either by silence or connivance, by the General Government—we are furnished with a fresh illustration of the impotence of the Union to protect even the free settlers of the West in their civil and political rights.

13. Resolved, That the warmest thanks of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, together with those of all American Abolitionists, are given to the members of the Anti-Slavery Conference held in Manchester, England, on the First of August last, for the clear, strong and emphatic condemnation given in their resolutions and proceedings to the infamous system of American Slavery, against which it is alike the business and the duty of men in all climes and countries to lift up the voice of indignant protest; and for the generous manner in which they reached forth the hand of fellowship and co-operation to the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. And we earnestly entreat them not to be weary in well-doing, but to continue to cheer, by their earnest testimonies and their welcome sympathy, the labours of all who are contending for impartial Liberty, for Justice, and for Right.

14. Resolved, That we deeply regret that the value of the testimony against American Slavery, borne by the London Anti-Slavery Conference in November last, was so much impaired by its refusal to acknowledge the labours of the oldest, most devoted and faithful servants which the anti-slavery cause has ever had in this land, or in any other; and especially must we condemn the imperfect and garbled manner in which, after a long delay, the report of that Convention has been given by its official servants to the world.

15. Resolved, That, with words of affectionate remembrance and greeting, we extend our hands to our fellow-labourer in the cause, now in Great Britain, PARKER PILLSBURY; assuring him of our undiminished confidence; thanking him for the brave and faithful words for our common cause which he has spoken in the Old World; congratulating him upon the friendship and respect he has gained for himself there; and pledging to him our heartiest welcome and embrace when he shall again set foot on his native land.

C. C. BURLEIGH replied briefly, but very ably, to Mr. Pierpont's argument on the Constitution.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM recited a stirring Poem, composed on the Passage of the Personal Liberty Bill. It elicited much applause. [It may be found in another column.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS addressed the Convention in a very eloquent and thrilling speech, which was enthusiastically applauded.

THEODORE PARKER made some humourous and effective remarks, respecting Mayor Smith and Governor Gardner, and recapitulated and extolled the various acts of the Legislature for the protection of personal liberty, the removal of Judge Loring, &c., &c.

The resolutions on the Manchester and London Conferences were then, after some words of explanation from Mr. GARRISON, unanimously adopted.

The resolution relating to Mr. PILLSBURY was passed with much enthusiasm.

All the resolutions, not before acted upon, were adopted.

☞ The whole amount of cash collections by the Finance Committee, and entrance money at the evening meetings, was about $565. Pledges, about $1,000.

At half past 10 o'clock, the Convention adjourned, *sine die.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
WILLIAM P. ATKINSON,
AARON M. POWELL,
} Secretaries.

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

THE Third Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania was held in the new meeting-house, at Longwood, near Kennett Square, commencing on Sunday, the 20th, and closing on Tuesday, the 22d of May. The meeting-house, which has been erected within the past year, was dedicated on the Saturday previous, able addresses being delivered by Prof. Harvey, of Philadelphia, and Theodore Parker, of Boston. In spite of the pouring rain, the spacious house was crowded to its utmost capacity. Mr. Parker spoke two hours and a half, in a strain of masterly eloquence, commanding the close attention of his hearers to the last moment. His subject was the Relation of Ecclesiastical Organizations to the Religious Consciousness.

The Yearly Meeting was opened, on Sunday morning, by another discourse from THEODORE PARKER, fully equal to that of the day previous, on the Blessedness and Beauty of True Piety. The audience, if possible, was even larger than on the previous day, though the rain had not abated. The Hutchinson Family were present on both occasions, and added much to the interest of the meetings by their soul-stirring music. It was their first visit in that neighbourhood, and it was both interesting and curious to witness the effect of their songs upon those whose Quaker education had deprived them of all opportunity to cultivate the musical faculty, and even of testing the power of music over the higher feelings of the heart.

We cannot give a particular account of the exercises of the meeting without transcending the sphere of this journal as the organ of an Anti-Slavery Society. It is right, however, to say, that the Progressive Friends are thoroughgoing Abolitionists, and that their attitude toward the popular sects, so far as the slavery question is concerned, is substantially that of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Slavery was one of the topics of discussion at the meeting, though, owing to peculiar circumstances, it received less attention than usual.

THE "PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL."

BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

Delivered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Thursday Evening, May 31, 1855.

THE clouds roll up—and o'er their boding white tops,
In glory mantled, towers an awful form!
Our thirsty souls with joy drink in the light drops
Of the great Northern storm!

Joy! for the slave may rest him by our fountains,
And laugh to scorn the hunter and the chain!—
Let the deep cannon speak it to the mountains,
Let the crags blaze again!

Joy fills the land! Our State, as comes the dawning,
Has risen at last from her long night's eclipse;
There is no brand upon her brow of morning,
No dust upon her lips!

Say—heard ye of that creature of an hour,
Who scorned the justice, and the truth defied?
Pandering to State street's lust of pride and power,
He sought to stem the tide.

And when, amid a nation's mirth and wonder,
He raised his puny arm to ward the stroke,
"VOX POPULI! VOX DEI!"—How God's thunder
Through House and Senate broke!

Mark ye! what time the Autumn winds are lifting
The withered leaves upon the upland lea,
Ye'll see his torn and shattered bark far drifting,
A feather on the sea!

Upon this platform, many a year, undaunted,
A Nation's outlaw, Freedom faced her foes;
Amid the darkness, here the seed was planted,
Whose harvest this day knows.

And they who planted it, in tears and sorrow,
Walked the dark path by Earth's best martyr's trod,
With faces ever toward Faith's great "to-morrow,"
And boundless trust in God!

The sacred Cause, offspring of Truth and Reason,
Despised of men—the babe twice manger-born—
Outlived the Church's sneers, the Pulpit's treason—
Outrode the storm of scorn.

Hourly man's life upon the earth enhancing,
Gathering to God the weary souls astray,
Far up Truth's solemn heights, yet still advancing,
It lights the world to day!

From her deep sleep, New England is awaking—
New Hampshire's cliffs, Maine's silent solitudes,
Old Massachusetts, where the sea is breaking,
And Vermont's echoing woods—

Each to the other calls!—and brave Rhode Island,
Looking far out upon the heaving main,
And stanch Connecticut, from every highland,
Send answer back again!

List to that cry! where now the darkness gathers,
Its startling summons rings along the line:
"*Down with the Stripes! Up, Pine Tree of our Fathers!*
Be thou the Northmen's sign!"

No more by battle plain, hill-side and meadow,
Shall Southern hunters sound their rallying horn;
No more Oppression, with its hideous shadow,
Darken the Northern morn!

No more with tyrant breath our air be tainted—
The ermined pimps of Crime are grovelling low;
No more o'er the old graves of Pilgrims sainted
The human hunt shall go!

The village maidens on the hill-sides straying,
The farmer standing by the homestead gate,
Hear the glad words with joy and reverence, saying,
"God bless thee, good old State!"

The toilers from the workshop windows leaning,
Call to the crowd below—"Ay, bless the day!"
They wave their strong arms with a fearful meaning—
Are eager for the fray!

"Ay!" cries the sailor, "let our sons and daughters
Throw from their hearts the tyrant's bloody code;
Our good ship rides to-day the free blue waters,
Where once the Mayflower rode!"

Here rests the slave. Ho! brothers, never let him
Flee for his safety to the frontier gates:
Say to the tyrant, "Come thou here, and get him!
A welcome for thee waits!

"Thou 'lt find thy thrall beside our cooling fountains;
Thou 'lt hear along the vales our Slogan peal;
See 'gainst the sunset on the Berkshire mountains,
A wall of gleaming steel!"

So raise we—whether morn or midnight gathers—
New England's stern and glorious battle-cry,
"*Down with the Stripes! Up, Pine Tree of our Fathers!*
'Neath thee we'll stand or die!"

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE FRIENDLY REMONSTRANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND, ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

AMERICANS: You acknowledge the Brotherhood of Nations. You avow the doctrines that the nations of the earth constitute one great family, and that, as such, they are bound to each other by common interests and common ties; and, in avowing this, you grant the right of any one member of that brotherhood to lift up a calm and truthful testimony, before any other member, on behalf of humanity, justice and freedom, when these are assailed or outraged.

We are as one with you in the maintenance of this principle; and it is because we look to you as brethren, bound to us by the most endeared associations, that we now address you.

It is in no spirit of pride or fancied superiority that we make our appeal, but rather in a spirit of self-humiliation, calling to mind that we also were once partakers in this iniquity. And we hope that the fact of our having done what we could to wipe out our reproach as a nation, once implicated in upholding slavery, will induce you to give the more willing and earnest heed to our remonstrance.

Americans: We plead with you on behalf of three millions of immortal beings, whom you hold in bondage. We plead for the removal of the curse from their brow, the gall from their earthly cup, the chain from their limbs, the iron from their souls. We plead for the immediate, unqualified and entire abolition of slavery throughout your land.

It is not necessary that we enter on any lengthened proof of the evils of this system. It carries its condemnation with it. That condemnation is heard in groans of anguish and written in tears of blood. It has been inscribed, as with letters of fire, on the desolated hearts and homes of millions. The voice of the Eternal proclaims it. A system which subjects three millions of human beings to the condition of mere "chattels personal" in the eye of the law—which deprives them of all their rights and privileges as intelligent and accountable creatures—which disallows or breaks asunder the most sacred ties of life—which virtually annuls the "higher law" of God, and substitutes in its stead the absolute will of a sinful man as a rule of obedience—which robs its victims of the fruits of their toil, and denies to them the means and opportunities of cultivating their deathless faculties—a system which sanctions atrocities like these must be essentially wrong and unutterably shameful, and cannot be mentioned in the same breath with truth, righteousness and freedom.

Americans: We appeal to you, on the ground of our common humanity, to abolish this system. We assert the manhood of the enslaved. These three millions who are in bondage are men and women like ourselves; gifted with like thoughts, like feelings, like aspirations; and, like us, too, destined for immortality. Why, then, treat them as if they belonged not to human kind? That there are humane men among the upholders of the slave system, and slaves who receive humane treatment, we readily acknowledge; and yet we are compelled to say, the inevitable tendency of such a system must be to subject the enslaved to treatment that is anything but humane. Where is the humanity of treating men and women as if they were brute beasts or creeping things? of trampling in the dust the most sacred relationships of life? of rearing slaves like cattle for the market? of subjecting them to the lash and to numerous indignities and immoralities? and this according to the caprice or passion of an irresponsible owner. Is there even the semblance of humanity here? We plead with you to treat the Slave as a man.

We appeal to you on the ground of Justice. Where is the justice that is dealt out to the slave? Where is there anything meriting the name? The system takes from the slave all that he has, all that he gains, from life's commencement even to its close. It strips him of money, house, wife, children. It deprives him of education, civil rights, liberty of conscience, the Bible. It condemns him without a hearing, and subjects him, without a trial, to bonds, imprisonment and even death. In vain does he look for justice at the hand of his oppressor. There is no tribunal of righteousness to which he can appeal. In the preamble to your noble Constitution, it is affirmed that it was framed "to establish justice," and yet there are three millions of human beings at this hour, within the bounds of your republic, who may be treated with every indignity and cruelty, while the justice of your land extends no shield over their helpless heads.

We appeal to you on the ground of consistency. And is not this the fundamental principle set forth in your glorious Declaration of Independence—that "all men are born free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? What means this language? Does it not mean that the man of colour, as well as the white, is a man? That the black man is born free as well as the white? That God has given to the black man, as well as the white, those inalienable rights? Where, then, is the consistency between your profession and your practice as a people?

Again, in your past history, you have shown that you are ever ready to sympathize with the victims of despotism in other lands in their struggles for freedom. In this you do well. We mingle our sympathy with yours. But where is the consistency of having overflowing sympathies for the enslaved afar off, and bondage and oppression for millions in the bosom of your own land?

We appeal to you on the sacred ground of our common Christianity. Shall our appeal here be unheeded? America proclaims itself to be a Christian land. And is not the very spirit of Christianity one of love? But where is the manifestation of that spirit in the enslavement of three millions of your fellow-men? Is not this the teachings of Christianity's Divine Author, "Love thy neighbours as thyself"? And who is thy neighbour? That down-trodden slave is he. But where is your love, when you even deny him the right to be a man? Does not Christianity teach that God has "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"? But how can you reconcile this great truth with your conduct in shutting out the poor slave from the brotherhood of humanity? Is not this the grand law for the regulation of conduct betwixt man and man, as laid down by the Great Teacher himself, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them"? But if that law be honoured in the midst of you, does it not follow that you will bid every slave go free? As you would that men should bind no fetters on your limbs, does not that law demand that ye bind no fetters on theirs? As ye would not be enslaved, Christ bids you enslave none. Have you not Bible and Missionary Societies, and do you not regard them as the glory of your nation? But why send the Bible to slaves of Satan in other climes, and deny it to the slaves in your own land? Why illumine India or China, while you doom to heathen darkness millions in your own country? Americans, by everything that is sacred or awful in our holy religion, we appeal to you to be consistent here. As you profess to be a Christian people, listen to the Word of the Most High, "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them"—"Proclaim liberty to the captives, and open the prison doors to them that are bound"—"Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free."

Americans: Shall slavery continue? Shall the accursed system still live under the shadow of law—still be tolerated, fostered, propagated? Shall the foul blot still remain on your national escutcheon? Will you still forsake the good old paths of your fathers, and act as if you sought to quench the altar fires of liberty which they enkindled? Will you continue to undo the work of patriots, reformers, philanthropists, and to affiliate with tyrants, traitors, usurpers and men-stealers? Surely, it cannot be! Surely, an indignant nation will say, it shall not be!

Americans: Bear with us in our importunity. We love you as brethren; therefore do we plead with you. We love your magnificent country, your noble institutions, your spirit of progress; therefore do we plead with you. We love liberty, our dearest birthright and yours, for which our fathers and your fathers shed their blood—liberty, the birthright of all; therefore do we plead with you. We love the three millions who are enfettered in the midst of you; therefore do we plead with you. We love Religion, and would see her divine and glorious form making triumphant progress through your land; therefore do we plead with you. We love the image of Jesus, in his disciples of whatever colour, and would not see that image in chains; therefore do we plead with you.

Americans: We know that there are difficulties in your way; but these are nothing in comparison with the measureless good to be achieved; your moral influence, your position among the nations, and your glory as a people will be all the more eminent and enduring if, by one act of magniminity, you trample these difficulties in the dust. Retrace, then, your steps, we entreat you! Give to the enslaved his inborn, inalienable rights. Give to the toiler the fruits of his toil. Give to the husband the wife of his bosom, and the wife the husband of her youth. Give to the fond mother the child whom God has given to her. Give to immortal minds the priceless blessing of education. Give to the weary, the wretched, and the lost, the light of life, and the hope of eternal repose. Give to man the right to be his own—free amongst his fellows, and accountable to his God. Then shall the Union Flag of Freedom float above a land without a Slave! and the good upon earth will rejoice, and the God of Heaven will bless you.

[SIGNATURES.]

D. McLaren, Lord Provost, Chairman of Public Meeting, at which there were about 1,600 persons present, in the Rev. Dr. French's Church, Edinburgh.

Signed on behalf of a Great Public Meeting of the citizens of Glasgow, held in the City Hall, between three and four thousand persons being present, the 16th of Nov., 1852, by William Smeal, Chairman.

John Ferguson MacDonald, incumbent of Christ Church Huntley, for himself and in behalf (probably) of *all* the members of his congregation [number of congregation, about 70].

Read at the close of a meeting of the Society of Friends at Edinburgh, the 19th of 12 mo., 1852, and signed on their behalf and by their authority—William Miller (Elder). Number attending, between 50 and 60.

Robert Law, Chairman, on behalf of the members of the Broxburn and Uphall Total Abstinence Society, at a public meeting, held on Tuesday, 25th January, 1853.

The above Remonstrance was read, yesterday, in our congregation and approved of by about 250. P. Barron, Minister. Dunning, 3d Jan., 1853.

J. C. Woods, B.A., Minister of St. Mark's Unitarian Chapel, Edinburgh, (signed for the congregation).

Robert Scott, in behalf of 60 Remonstrants.

James Kessen, Minister of the Free Church, Bathgate. For congregation.

Charles Clouston, Minister of Sandwick, in behalf of 464 parishioners, who have authorized him to sign this Remonstrance.

John Elder, Minister of the Free Church, Walls, Shetland.

Having read the Remonstrance to the congregation, I can with safety say, there were above one hundred and fifty present who were against the dreadful evils of slavery and would earnestly wish it abolished.

John Macpherson, Free Church Minister at Lairg. Signed on behalf of the congregation, amounting to 250. J. M.

Charles F. Buchan, D.D., Minister of Fordoun, Kincardineshire.

Andrew Robertson, Stow, for congregation.

John Fraser, on behalf of 200 inhabitants of this place. Gerden, 22d March, 1853.

John Kay, in name of 250 inhabitants of the Village of Frenchie, Fife, Scotland.

Wm. Leslie, on behalf of Macduff Free Church, congregation numbering 450.

Signed in name and by authority of a meeting of the congregation of the Parish Church of Penicuik, Wm. Scott Moncrieff, Minister.

William Logie, Minister of Firth and Stennis, for himself and the congregations of both parishes—probably about 300.

D. Webster, Minister, on behalf of the Independent Congregation, Linlithgow.

John Hostie, Minister of Free Church, Yetholm, Roxburghshire, for congregation.

James Henderson, Minister U. P. congregation, Duntocha. Number 300.

Robert Hunter, Minister, on behalf of about 90.

Robert Reoch, for Independent Church, Alexandria.

W. G. Smith, Minister of Fentry, for congregation.

David Young, Minister U. P. Church, Muirkirk, near Lanark.

J. Milmain, Minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation at Douglas-Water, near Lanark, in name of six hundred and twelve subscribers, obtained in the district by Mr. Hislop, merchant, and Mr. Brown, preacher, and others; Mr. Hislop, Treasurer. Although a perfectly rural district, great interest is felt in the cause. March, 1853.

John Thorburn, Minister, in behalf of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Gate House, near Fleet. Congregation numbering upwards of 100 persons.

In behalf of the Baptist Church, Saltcoats, consisting of 28 members. James Dunlop, Pastor. 23d Feb., 1853.

Alex. M. McGregor, Minister of Balynkidder, in behalf of 250 of the congregation.

Wm. Nisbit, Minister. Signed on behalf of the U. P. Congregation, Abbey Close, Paisley, consisting of a membership of 565, exclusive of adherents. Feb., 1853.

By authority and on behalf of United Presbyterian Congregation, worshipping in Belmont Street Church, Aberdeen. John C. Brown, Minister.

Manse of Dun, 11th January, 1853.—Sir: I have read the above to my congregation, in the church here, and they are all against slavery, and authorize me to sign this

Miscellaneous Department.

THE ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.

THE best account of the eruption of Vesuvius we have seen is in the following letters extracted from the *London Daily News*:

NAPLES, Saturday, May 5, 1855.

Having purchased our torches at Resina, we turned out of the high road into the comparatively narrow and heavy route which begins the assent. It is formed of loose volcanic dust and pulverized lava; and hard work it is indeed for the weary horses to get along. Ours acted most prudently by refusing to advance, so that, dismounting, we took to our legs. A woman might have gone up alone, so dense were the crowds either coming or going; for be it known, that apart from curiosity, many felt not a little relief at the eruption, as though it had saved them from the disasters of an earthquake, and were full therefore of joyousness. As we got close under the mountain, we experienced something like disappointment, for the elevation on which the Hermitage stands hid from our view the fire and smoke and the streams of lava which even from Naples formed so magnificent a spectacle. As we got higher and higher, the glare of light reflected on the sky became visible, and by the time we had got to the Hermitage the grandeur of the scene began to open upon us. Pushing on from this point through cicerones and donkeys, horses, carriages and christians, as bipeds are styled in Naples, we traversed for some distance the road which leads to the cone, when, turning sharp off to the left, we arrived at a point on the stream of lava where it forms a cascade. This is about a mile or a mile and a half from its source; and here a vast crowd was assembled, as though it afforded the grandest *colpo d'occhio*. To tell the truth, your correspondent labours to write coolly, for such was the magnificence of the scene that were one to trust too much to his feelings, he would be hurried into what might appear exaggeration. The lava on which we stood was yesterday a boiling, moving stream; it was still hot to our feet, and, taking up the loose pieces of coke, the glowing fire was clearly perceptible beneath; we lit our cigars at it, and played all kinds of practical jokes; and, jumping over the fiery fissures, stood by the side of the bed of moving lava. Imagine thousands of tuns of coke carted out together, and rolling mass over mass, and some idea may be formed of the noise—not that it was loud, but a wide-spread incessant sh—sh—sh—sh—like water over pebbles. When a great accumulation of materials had been formed at the edge of the precipice, the outer blackened crust broke up, and, rolling over into the abyss below, bounded from rock to rock down among the chestnut trees, which writhed and flamed up and then fell over. The immense body of heat and light which then burst forth nearly scorched and blinded us, and instinctively we held up our hands to ward it off. The breadth of the stream in this direction is 100 palms, says the Neapolitan journal; from my observation, I should say nearer 200 palms. Of course all calculation must be mere guess work, as who can measure a fiery flood? I never witnessed such mighty results of power apparently so unconnected with any cause. It produced the same impression upon me that the Toledo or Strand might do were either to take it into its head to walk. There was a solid plain, which we might have crossed some eight and forty hours before, now going full drive over a precipice some thirty or forty feet deep, and then stealing onward, as it now is, through chestnut groves and vineyards and villages, and threatening places of some consideration. Above the precipice the stream—or rather two streams, which are united at the cataract—flows through a plain in a serpentine form, and, following back its course, we arrived at the foot of the cone. Half way up we came upon the first of seven mouths, all of which throw out either lava or stones, or both. Those which threw out lava bubbled and gurgled over, while those which made a greater effort and threw out stones kept up an incessant noise, as that of a distant heavy cannonade. What a foreground was this! Behind these in the distance the background was formed of heavy masses of lurid clouds, showing off by a strong contrast the vivid flames in front. The lava flowed down the sides of the mountain in waves of fire, and, rolling through the valley we had just passed, precipitated itself into the gulf above which we stood at first. Of course we ladled up some liquid lava and fixed some coppers in it, and then were glad to move off. The wind occasionally shifted, and with it that curtain of lurid clouds. Our guides warned us to be off on penalty of sharing the fate of Pliny, a consummation earnestly to be avoided, we thought, however great our respect for the old Roman. Since that evening, the seven mouths have all resolved themselves into one. The lava still continues to pour down the mountain in the direction of San Sebastanio, Pollena, and Massa di Somma, being the same direction it took in 1822. It has already occupied the bed of a river, destroyed much plantation, and is threatening still greater injury. The Marchese St. Angelo, who has property in that direction, has been removing his furniture from his villa as a precautionary measure. In short, this eruption, though not so effective a spectacle at a distance as the last, is far more imposing when viewed close, and threatens to be much more destructive.

NAPLES, Thursday, May 10, 1855.

The lava has now advanced ten miles from its source and is doing terrible damage. I have before me the report of Cozzolino as to the latest changes which have taken place about the cone. Just at the base of it a lake of fire has been formed, which looks like a red sea in an undulatory state. In the very centre of this has opened another crater, which is throwing out red hot stones. On the morning of the 7th, the crater at the very summit fired, as it were, two heavy cannonades; and after sending forth lightning, flames and stones, broke up altogether. In the middle of the cone ten craters have been formed, and from these the lava pours forth like a river and runs on the side of the Cavallo as far as the Minatore. Here four other craters have been formed, which throw up bitumen in the manner of pyramids, and resemble gigantic exhibitions of fireworks. The whole of the summit of the crater is therefore like a sponge and must inevitably fall in. The thin crust trembles under your feet. You may see the stones dance with the tremulous movement; the part immediately round the crater looks like the sides of a heated copper boiler. Such is a true statement of what is going on on the summit. There are reports of an opening towards Pompeii, which is not unlikely, and of another toward Resina, but I have not been up for some days, as the danger is now very great. Before I write again I shall make the attempt. Last night, I went to the scene of most stirring interest, after an interval of two days. The whole length of this usually quiet road was like a fair, and such was the throng of carriages, which were moving on in three lines, that it was with difficulty we ever arrived at our destination. As we approached the menaced neighbourhood, the inhabitants were removing their goods, and on a bridge in the middle of the little township of Cercolo (through which, in the winter time, thunders down from the summit of Vesuvius one of those mountain rivers so well known in Italy) stood a company of Sappers. Creeping under the solid handsome bridge into the bed of the river, we went up in face of the lava, which was now coming rapidly down. Here again were Sappers, raising mounds on either side to divert the ruin from some private grounds and keep the lava in one straight course. The smoke which rose over the heads of the multitudes told us we were close on the spot, and, climbing up the bank and walking along the top, we looked down on this mighty mass of fire. How changed the neighbourhood in two days! Where I walked on Sunday night was now a sea of fire. The side road by which I had come down into the main stream from Pollena and Massa di Somme was now full of blackened coke. The houses on the borders of the village had fallen—in one, 30 poor people lived; a small chapel was swallowed up, a gentleman's villa, and a sad extent of vineyard and garden ground. On the other side of the great lava bed another stream was branching off to San Sebastiano. We had hoped to cross it and ascended to the cascade again, but it was no longer possible; for, as one says speaking of a marshy country in the Winter, the lava was out. The fire here had begun to enter the burial ground of the little town, but was diverted from its course by a wall. On the opposite side of the stream were the King and all the Royal family. The banks on either side were thronged with curious and anxious multitudes, whose faces were lighted up with the blaze of hundreds of torches and with the more resplendent flame of the rapidly-descending lava. Since the morning it had moved a mile. It was like a vast river of glowing coke. As it moved on, the tens of thousands of lumps rolled and tumbled one over the other, crackling and grinding and grating; and when, from the very face of it, a large lump fell off, the appearance was that of an iron-furnace when the iron is being drawn. To make the resemblance more complete, at such times men darted forward with long poles taken from the neighbouring vineyards, and pulled out great masses of lava, in which they imbedded money for sale. What struck me at first, and still strikes me as the most majestic feature in the whole scene, is the slow, silent, irresistible motion of that fiery flood. Active almighty power without an effort! Sweeping everything before it, overcoming every obstacle, growing up against intervening walls or houses, and devouring them bodily, and then marching on in the same silent, unrelenting, irresistible manner as before. There was a spot beneath my feet where a fall of mason work had been built to break the violence of the winter floods; to this spot all eyes were directed. The fiery river would fall over it in an hour; as yet it was distant from it seventy yards, perhaps. Gradually it rose in height and swelled out its vast proportions, and then vast masses fell off and rolled forward; then it swelled again as fresh matter came pressing down behind, and so it broke, and on it rolled again and again till it had arrived at the very edge. There was a general buzz and murmur of voices. The royal family stood opposite to me, intermingled with the crowd, looking on with intense anxiety. At last it broke, not hurriedly, still with a certain show of majesty. At first, a few small lumps fell down; then poured over a pure liquid of metal, like thick treacle, clinging sometimes mass to mass, from its glutinous character, and last of all tumbled over gigantic lumps of scoriæ. Then on it moved once more in its silent regular course, swelling up and spreading over the vineyards on either side; and now there was a rush for the road which traverses this lava-bed. Houses and the bridge bordered the road, the carriages had all been ordered off, and the bridge was being broken down—we were cut off completely. The sentinels would not let us pass, and struck us down and drove us back; but we forced our way, and then found too surely that it was impossible to get on. The bridge was half demolished, and by the light of the torches we could see the soldiers above working away with the pick and the axe. We had, therefore, to retrace our steps, and, making a long circuit through the open country and over walls, came round to the top of the bridge. "Run," said the sentinels, "or you will be too late." We crossed the narrow parapet which was still remaining, and soon afterward down went the whole fabric. In this way it is hoped that the lava will be diverted from the townships of St. Sebastiano, Massa di Somme and Pollens, which stand on either side and have as yet only suffered partially. Cercolo, through which, however, the stream is rolling, will be sacrificed. The expectation is that the lava, should the eruption continue, will flow down to the Ponte Maddaloni and into the sea. So grand and so destructive an eruption has not been known for many years, and even now we cannot tell how or when it will terminate. The mountain is literally seamed with lava and many fear a violent explosion as the final scene of the tragedy.

BARNUM'S ELEPHANT.

NEWS comes to us from across the Atlantic of Barnum's elephant. Poor creature! Here is another proof of the degrading condition of the state of slavery! To think of the majestic animal, free in his native savannahs, and then to behold him ploughing, carting loads of gravel, drawing stones on a dray, piling wood, and "making himself generally useful"—for we are assured that the victim lord of the forest does all this—on the farm of P. T. Barnum, Bridgeport, Connecticut, is to fire us with indignation, to melt us with pity towards the "peculiar institution" to which, in America, men and elephants are alike a sacrifice. The descendants of Guinea kings and Gold Coast princes have, doubtless, blacked the shoes of free republicans, have served Uncle Sam with sherry-cobblers, and supplied Brother Jonathan with many a mint-julep. But such family declension, such sad descent, touches us not so much as the thought of the lordly elephant, the wise, the grand, the magnanimous, gentle elephant—"the truly great are ever gentle"—degraded to a a piler of logs and a carter of gravel for—for (and this is the sting)—for Barnum! How wisely and well speaks Major Moir, in his *Oriental Fragments*, of the moral dignity of the animal. He says—"there is something in the elephant, independently of its bulk, I think, which distinguishes it from other quadrupeds. No person or persons would commit any act of gross indelicacy in presence of an elephant. The same feeling could not prevail touching the presence of a stupid rhinoceros, almost as bulky."

Nevertheless, even an elephant is susceptible of degrading moral influences. "Show me your company," says the proverb, "and I'll show you the man." Show me your Barnum, and I'll show you the elephant. In his day, the elephant has kept the most glorious company; for there are extant several ancient medals on which the head of Socrates is found united with the head of an elephant. But—true is the saying—every medal has its reverse. Again; the Socratic-elephantine medals are of gold and silver. Whereas, the medal to be henceforth struck, commemorative of the elephant and the owner of Connecticut, must be of basest brass.

We put it to Mrs. Beecher Stowe, whether the enslaved condition of this long-suffering elephant is not worthy of a tale illustrative of its sorrows? it is said that materials abound for its biography. We do entreat the benevolent Harriet to undertake the goodly work; and further, to set apart a portion of the profits of the book to redeem the noble animal from the bondage of the showman. We hear, among other incidents of its many coloured life, that the elephant was last employed by Barnum as moneytaker; and such was the elevation of its moral sense in those days, it never took a bad shilling. When Barnum retired from the cares of showmanship, the elephant bore him company; and was long employed in Barnum's Palace, as a domestic of all work; the elephant making Barnum's bed, bringing Barnum's shaving-water, cutting and curling Barnum's hair, and drawing the corks of Barnum's ginger pop. The best understanding long prevailed between the two animals; and was only broken by the fact that when Barnum was about his *Life*, the elephant would not go down upon his knees—as Barnum desired—to hold the showman's inkhorn. Upon this, the elephant was degraded to its present drudgery, from which we hope the pen of Mrs. Stowe will, like fairy wand, full soon release him.—*Punch.*

ROBERT OWEN'S MILLENNIUM.

FOR months past, an address, signed by the venerable philosopher, Robert Owen, has appeared in various newspapers, announcing the holding, on the 14th of May, of a World's Convention, at which the new social millenium should be inaugurated and philosophical plans propounded, by which mankind should be redeemed from the misery, vice and oppression with which they are now so heavily cursed. Accordingly, on Monday last, the Convention was held in St. Martin's Hall; and we formed one of the crowded gathering that assembled once more to listen to the man who, for more than half a century, has pertinaciously advocated one idea, although, as yet, with a scanty success, which would have caused the vast majority of his fellow-men to abandon it long ago in despair. The old faith of Robert Owen, however, is as strong now that he has greatly passed the allotted space of human existence as it was when, in the prime and vigour of manhood, he sought to realize his views in his own establishment at New Lanark; and when newspapers, politicians, and even statesmen and princes, supported his benevolent but impracticable schemes. We differ widely, very widely, from most of Mr. Owen's opinions; but we must do him the justice to express our belief that he has really sought the welfare of his fellow-men, and is more worthy of being regarded as a philanthropist than many to whom the world has readily accorded that noble title.

Mr. Owen himself presided at the Convention, and the speech of the day was delivered by him. Indeed, as we listened to the harangues of two other speakers (which lacked all the elements which have given Robert Owen all the power that he has wielded over his fellow-men), it seemed to us that the aged philosopher stood *alone* as the advocate of his millennium, and that, when he sinks into the grave, it must perish with him. He said that he had convened the Convention for the purpose of considering the spirit, the principles and the practice of the millennium—the knowledge of which was unknown to the human race. He expatiated upon the prevalence of falsehood in the world, which, he said, was so great that if any man went forth, and spoke the truth simply and solely, he would be put into a lunatic asylum before the week was out. But the millennium could only be realized by abandoning falsehood, and adopting the truth only. There would be but one religion in the millenium. Man could do no good to God, or to his fellow-creatures, by any flattery or worship, addressed to God; for an infinitely wise Being can only be gratified by the increased happiness of his creatures. The only religion of the millennium, therefore, would be to accomplish the highest amount of good to all the emanations of Deity possessing life and sensation. Still, all Christians, Jews, Mahometans, &c., might retain their educated notions of religion, if they will seek to make their fellow-men happy to the utmost of their power. He proposed to surround children from their birth upwards with Divine influences, as the means of making them perfect men. A child can be taught anything, and no child is answerable for what it is taught. There will be but one government in the new state, and every "full-formed," rational person will have his full share of the governing power of the world. "Full-formed" men and women—he had never yet been able to discover one in history. None of the governments of the world knew what course to pursue; they are in a fix. It is not their fault—it is the fault of the system in which they have been educated, trained, and placed. But falsehood has run its race, and worn itself out; and now they must have truth, and truth only. He knew every step, without missing one, by which the earth might be made into one class, and that the happiest class that ever lived. He rejoiced to know that in the millennial state no crime, no ignorance, no poverty would exist, and that universal charity would prevail. In that state there shall be as much individual liberty as society can bear; and there will be but one party—the party of universal brotherhood. The love of gold would also be banished. Place a statute of gold side by side with a healthy human being, and which was the true source of wealth? Why, if there was no gold to-morrow, wealth would still exist in profusion. The world would be very foolish if it did n't cease to be the slave of the money system. In the new millennium there will be but one country, which will be our earth, and every child that is born will inherit his fair portion of it. Mr. Owen then inquired of his audience whether he had fully expressed their thoughts and feelings on the subject. Numerous cries of "Yes" were raised, and a few "Noes." He resumed by saying that he had been accused of being visionary and enthusiastic, and, as he expected to die before his next birthday, he wished to make his views fully known. He wondered that he should be regarded as "visionary," when no one had reduced his views to practice more than himself. The present system encourages evil up to a certain extent, and then it punishes its commission. He did n't believe there were two men under the old system who were more inclined to benefit the human race than Kossuth and Mazzini, yet how mistaken were they, for they believed that the world could be redeemed by war. Kindness and love must rule the world; no other power can pacify and regenerate it. To effect this, every new born child must be endowed, by education and example, with loveable qualities—"old things must pass away, and all things become new." Then will not one stone be left upon another of the old system.

Mr. Atkins next addressed the meeting. He apologized for the absence of his "panorama," which, however, would be exhibited next month. He denounced the Manchester school, and eulogized his own scheme of visual education. Rather than be forced into a cotton factory at Manchester, he would prefer to be a savage, roaming wild in the woods. He had sought to induce the Crystal Palace Company to promote his schemes, but in vain.

Mr. Pemberton next spoke, but was so inaudible, rambling, and disjointed in speech, that we could not understand him; but we believe he claims the discovery of a new system, by which the infant mind may be completely imbued with virtue and knowledge. He held up several works—one of them "The Attributes of the Soul"—which contained the details of his discoveries.

Mr. Owen again rose, and, after some further remarks in explanation of the millennium, referred to his experiments at New Lanark, where he had introduced a system of love and charity which had produced results as great as the difference between Pandemonium and Paradise. He had been able to leave his establishment, in which 2,500 persons were employed, for six months at a time, and find on his return everything in the same state of order and harmony in which he had left it. He then exhibited and explained a painting of "The Devastator," a machine by which armies and fortresses could be so securely destroyed that, if it were adopted, war must cease. In the new state war will be at an end. He denounced the present war, and asked what good war had ever effected? From 1813 to 1817 inclusive, his schemes for the elevation of the human race had received the approval of a large portion of the people of this country. The Earl of Liverpool and the members of his Administration were favourable to them; so was the Duke of Kent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the *Times* newspaper, and many organs of the metropolitan and provincial press. He concluded with an earnest reiteration of his millennial views, laying especial emphasis upon kindness and love as the means of purifying the world.

A petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying that a commission might be appointed to test the soundness of Mr. Owen's plans, or to examine him personally, was adopted with but two or three dissentients. Thus terminate the World's Millennial Convention.—*(London) Empire.*

SOME AMERICAN CURS.

WE know that America produces opossums and raccoons, rattlesnakes also, and other reptiles. It may not perhaps be generally known that there exists also an American breed of curs—a remarkable species of animal, and principally remarkable for having two legs. Of these deminutive bipid creatures of the canine species we have had one lately giving utterance to a yelp and a snarl in a letter to the *Times* on "The United States and Russia." He answers to the name of A "STATES" MAN. This American cur is evidently one of a pack; and whilst yelping and snarling in common with the rest of it, he whines and howls an apology for their common cry. Here is a specimen of this dog's "pen-and-ink":

"Without stopping to decide whether Americans are more benevolently inclined to Russia than to those who, in spite of negative protestations, are evidently straining every nerve to humil ate her, it is not difficult to comprehend why such a disposition should not be uncommon throughout the States. If I mistake not, there exists a strong and general conviction among disinterested persons that the present frightful struggle between Christian nations in arms is a disgrace to the nineteenth century; that the object of it is as unattainable and unwise as it is indefensible; that no contingent or prospective danger to Europe or to India was sufficiently menacing to justify in the sight of God the slaughter of His chief handiwork on earth at the rate of 200 000 souls a year, or in the sight of man the destruction of his hard earnings so as to outstrip the almost miraculous productiveness of the present day; and that when Russia consents, as she has done, to the demands of the Allies concerning the Sultan's Greek subjects, the protectorate of the Principalities, and the navigation of the Danube, to require her, in the plentitude of her strength and the height of her pride, to assist in tying her own hands, is an indignity to which none would submit save a fool, who is more than one-half coward. Is it to be wondered at, then, if among other impartial observers, some Americans be found who, seeing Russia banned as an annexionist by the Allies, call upon these, as another set of self-righteous accusers were once exhorted to "cast the first stone."

Here the whine assumes a nasal twang, into which the American cur can never long give tongue without subsiding. He never fails to snuffle a text and a pious sentiment in the course of his howl. Considering who first uttered the phrase of Scripture which the "States"-man quotes, one cannot but think its adoption by those "some Americans" as rather cool, and very characteristic of the "some"—some Americans being, as aforesaid, curs. Is it not banning Russia as an "annexionist" that provokes the wrath, and evokes the piety of these brethren in annexation of the Russian orthodox?

For the rest, the cur howls that we interfere in American affairs, which he rather vaguely specifies; avoiding the mention of fillibusterism in connection with Cuba. Another American affair he omits to yelp upon: slavery to-wit. In not referring to these, he passes over the very points on which "some Americans" particularly sympathize with with Czar. "Some Americans" are each of them a little Czar in himself, a tyrant of slaves; and a scoundrel who wants to "carry out the destiny of his country" by plundering his neighbours. A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind to fellow-criminals, wondrous savage, malignant, and malicious against their prosecutors, whose acts are a protest against our own conduct. Add to this the pious sentiment of "some Americans." Nicholas had, he said, the Sword in his hand and the Cross in his heart—he had, indeed, the sword in one hand and the knout in the other. So "some Americans" carry the revolver and the cow-hide; so do they sanctimoniously whine and turn up the whites of their eyes, whilst they scourge the flesh from the bones of miserable blacks.

The other chief reason why "some Americans" hate us is, because the English Press abuses and ridicules the American nation. "Some Americans" are a very thin-skinned race of curs; with which remark we dismiss the consideration of the animal; rejoicing that "some Americans" are by no means all.—*Punch.*

AUSTIN HENRY LAYARD.

From The (London) Empire.

THE name of Layard has, withing the last few days, reached an importance which makes it, more than ever, a national name. A new man has cast himself into the troubled waters of political strife, and not alone London, not alone England, but Europe itself watches his career. A deep laid combination of vested interests in the House of Commons has sought to extinguish him, not in the ordinary way by which eloquent mouths have been closed, that is to say by gold, but rather by violence and intimidation. Parliament knows well that no money-bribe can calm down the independent utterances of the member for Aylesbury; it resorts, therefore, to the weapons of uproar and anger; and the world looks on watching the issue with deep interest, anxious to know whether Mr. Layard will fall before the wrath which his energy has kindled, or like the burning bush of truth will not pale—*nec tamen consumebatur.*

I beg to predict that he will stand the test, and come forth from the ordeal triumphant. I know from personal experience the sterling character of the gentleman about whom I speak, and it is from a knowledge of this character that I am enabled to say a brilliant career in the region of politics awaits him. By no means an orator, in the classic sense, and by no means a politician in the sense of the clubs, Mr. Layard is yet an honest man, a business man, a man of resolute energy, a man whom money cannot corrupt, and these are the qualities which, in past ages, have made the human being the safety of a nation, and, in a Roman sense, the contemporary of the gods. Neither Washington nor Cromweli were orators, and yet they redeemed their country; Lamartine was an orator, and France fell beneath his feet. What England wants at this critical moment is young, vigorous, healthy blood—open, generous, candid, undisguised speech—business, honesty, action. Mr. Layard gives all this. Yet young in years, he stands at the head of the British youth, to lead this youth onwards to deeds of integrity and lawful ambition, and to prove to mankind that England will yet live and shall not die.

Now it is this very business talent and uncompromising devotion to duty that the English aristocracy, especially its Whig section, have sought to extinguish in the person of Mr. Layard. The Whigs ever have had sagacity to lay their hands upon rising ability, and no sooner did they find that the aspiring youth who had raised Nineveh from the tomb was the object of fame, than they said, "Let us secure that man." Through Lord Granville he was, therefore, chosen to a high post in the Foreign-office, and through Lord Granville's Whig friends he was elected member for Aylesbury—that is to say, the money influence was forthcoming for this purpose, and without it no Buckinghamshire constituency would have sent him or any other to Parliament. Thus Mr. Layard began political life in the school of the Whigs, and by the grace of the Whigs, and was destined forever to skip over the saloons of the Whigs, and, as a good disciple, it was intended he should become their obedient slave, and eat whatever crumbs of office they cast beneath their table for Samaritan dogs and untitled gentry. But, as I have intimated, Mr. Layard had a soul as well as a body; and he had written books which proved that his soul was fresh, young, and untainted. For example, in his first literary production he had said, "Who cannot but admire the poor, half-naked Arab who, entrusted with a message from his Sheikh to the Pasha of Bagdad, walks proudly up to the great man's sofa, and seats himself unbidden upon it as his equal?" That was the principle which Mr. Layard dared to carry out in the House of Commons among the proud aristocracy of England. He would work with them as an equal or not at all; but if the Whigs had conceded such a condition, they would have given up their divine right and supremacy. Mr. Layard persevered, and they cried, "Who art thou?—who made you what you are?—officious fool! sit down in silence or go to Constantinople and Nineveh." Mr. Layard continued to persevere while the Osbornes, the Lowes and the Molesworths were snuffed out—he persevered, I say, and the aristocracy raised the cry that he was not modest; but at last he became a power, and then it was, a few nights ago, that the Commons sought to terrify his spirit, and then it was he became deserted even by those members who speak in his favour in public meeting; but mark the end! Baited by the aristocracy, bow-stringed by the Whigs and deserted by friends, he has earned a name which only requires to be pronounced in order to compel the great congregation of Englishmen to rise from their seats and grow wild in their expressions of applause. Therefore, when Mr. Layard, in future, speaks in the Commons, he speaks with England behind him—a power which the greatest of our living statesmen cannot at this time command. He has the people by his side, and we shall soon see how Whigs and Ministers, and Life Guardsmen, will mitigate their ferocity.

Three years ago I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Layard deliver one of the first (if not the very first) political speeches it was his fortune to make. He had gone down to Aylesbury to present himself before his adopted constituents, and it became his duty to appear in the presence of the people. With great frankness, and without any reserve, he confessed his ignorance of political affairs, and this confession emboldened a clergymen to say that Mr. Layard might do very well to dig up the old cities of the East, but was a most unfit man to legislate for modern society. Mr. Layard retorted that he had unfortunately been occupied in investigating the records of the past rather than the present, but he appealed to the assembly to say whether he might not be of some service to his country, seeing he had discovered that cities as great and noble as our own had existed in an old world, and had encountered ruin through corruption, misgovernment and priestcraft. No great depth of mind was needed to perceive the force of this observation. Mr. Layard's audience burst into a loud cheer, they helped the Whigs to send him to the House of Commons, and all this happened, I need not say, before war with Russia and Sebastopol inquiry made it plain that there is an England to be saved as much as that there was a buried Nineveh to be brought to the light of day. The question is, can the man who did the one execute the other?

And why not? Are we forever to be told that it is a crime to aspire to the government of a country, and that British youth must have no ambition except to bow its neck beneath the feet of hereditary Statesmen? The British youth who, in times of danger, aspires not to lead the nation out of its troubles deserves not to live, and the same God that gave wings to the eagle and strength to the ox implanted the daring passion of ambition in the breast of the young man, for it is the youth of the country that gives life, and without its youth it ceases to be. Old politicians like the Whigs have lived upon violated professions. They have outraged the sense of justice, and they have profaned the sacred name of liberty. They have made the science of politics an intrigue, and the government of the State a question of self-interest. But the time has come for this abominable thing to be put down; if not put down, then let Britain perish. The choice is inevitable. Well, let the British youth, with a Layard to teach it action, choose that political craft should sink and die, and all is well. Mr. Layard traversed the sacred East, and his eyes penetrated deeper than the surface, even beneath the crust of the earth, and he said, "Nineveh lies there, and Nineveh shall be laid open." It was done. He had no fortune, he had few friends, but it was done; and greater deeds remain for youth and energy to effect, if only the healthy manhood of England will look beyond the materialistic philosophy of the age and the accursed thirst for gold. SAXON.

THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES.

From the (London) Times, May 11.

WE adverted cursorily on a former occasion to a letter which appeared in our columns from an able correspondent, well known to our readers under the signature, not inapplicable to him in either sense, of a "States' Man." The object of our correspondent is not what we should have hoped it would have been—to clear the freemen of America from the stigma implied in the charge that the sympathies of America are not on our side. To the great mass of men who judge matters on their first aspect, and have neither leisure nor inclination to sound the depths of political questions, there is something shocking, and even revolting, in the admission that, though policy may keep the United States neutral in the present contest, and interest may plead as loudly in favour of Russia as of England and France, the feelings and sympathies of America, the conscience and heart of the nation, which are not under the control of interest, nor subject to considerations of State policy, side with the Powers of the East in their present deadly struggle with the Powers of the West.

To those who know America only from the overstrained praise of the Manchester school, who look upon her as the paradise of the poor, the land of high wages, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, no State endowments, cheap newspapers, and abundant supplies of ardent spirits, it seems almost impossible that the asylum of liberty, the boasted fountain of the future civilization of the world, should in feeling, if not in act, be closely united to a nation and a government, the whole mission and duty of which seems to be to live in darkness and misery themselves, and, by war and desolation, to spread that darkness and misery over the face of the whole habitable globe. We will not offend the susceptibility of our correspondent by offering to him again arguments intended to induce the people of America to reconsider the question, and to show that duty, honour and interest urge them alike to desire, and, so far as their traditional policy and isolated position will permit, to contribute to the success of the allied powers.

The first reason given by our correspondent for a Philo Russian feeling in America is, that a struggle between Christian nations in arms is a disgrace to the nineteenth century. We hope that this statement is correct, and well would it be for the United States, and well for the destinies of the human race, if such doctrines had taken firm possession of the mind of the people of America. The preaching of the Peace Society has failed in England, because the common sense of her people tells them that peace is not a matter like free trade or administrative reform, which it is within their own power to take or reject, but a blessing which is held, from its very nature, at the will of others, which may be lost by the will of a madman, like the Emperor Paul, and regained, as in the case of the same Paul, by the dagger of an assassin. But the United States have really before them that very option between peace and war which is denied to members of the European confederacy, and, if they would only act on the maxim attributed to them by our correspondent, might maintain peace among themselves and with all the world. The recent aggressive war on Mexico, the armed assistance lent by American citizens to the Canadian rebellion, the destruction of Greytown, and the doctrine recently promulgated by the Ostend Congress of American Ambassadors with regard to the seizure of Cuba, seem to afford some proof that our correspondent is mistaken in his estimate of American feeling, or that the United States consider themselves as an exception to the rule they apply to their neighbours, and believe that the slaughter of "God's chief handiwork on earth" is only unjustifiable when wrought by European hands.

Our correspondent further thinks that our object—the destruction of Russian preponderance in the Black Sea—is unwise, unattainable, and indefensible, and that were Russia to submit to such a proposition she would show herself half fool, half coward. But he forgets that to this very object Russia has herself formally consented, and that, if such consent has not been carried out into a formal treaty, it is only because that, by a series of the most disreputable quibbles and evasions Russia has deliberately eluded the consequences of a principle which she has herself, in the most solemn categorical manner, admitted as the basis of negotiation. The argument then comes to this—that America sympathizes with Russia because England and France demand from Russia terms which Russia herself admitted to be just and equitable grounds of negotiation. If some people are more Catholic than the Pope, surely our correspondent is more Russian than the Czar. Another cause which induces America to sympathize with the wrong against the right, is, that England, being a maritime power, is necessarily brought into collision with America, while Russia, having no commerce, has no grounds of dissension. That such jealousies may operate on the minds of a commercial nation we do not dispute, but as they make no difference whatever in the justice of the cause for which we fight, our correspondent in no respect strengthens his cause by adverting to them, and does his nation little credit by imputing to it such motives. Then the English press actually presumes to canvass the conduct of the American people with the same freedom it exercises towards its own government, its own institutions, and even royalty itself. There is, we suspect, the real gravaman of the charge. America is the land of liberty, and it is lawful for her untaxed press to utter, unchecked, the most scandalous accusations against individuals and the most bitter imputations against political parties; but if an American citizen presumes, by speech or writing, to call in question the policy, the political character, or the domestic institutions of the nation—if he hint that a government which decidedly gives to physical labour a superiority over intellectual capacity—which, while preaching non-intervention to us, sends out to European countries, under the name of Ambassadors and Consuls, agents of insurrection and disorder; he is soon taught to bow to the will of the majority, and to learn that even in the land of liberty freedom of discussion on all subjects is not permitted. From this democratic censorship the press of England is necessarily exempt, and it is therefore no wonder that our American cousins should hear with impatience from writers abroad truths that they will not tolerate from journalists and statesmen at home. The next ground for sympathy with Russia is the belief of some people in America that England and France were, under the pretence of succouring Spain, meditating a Crimean expedition to the Western hemisphere. Such an expedition could only be caused by aggressive policy on the part of America; and now, when we know that human life is so sacred in her eyes that no contingent or proscriptive danger justifies war, and that all foreign interference is an "ill paid trade," there can be, on our correspondent's own showing, no possible reason for such an intervention. We conclude, then, that our correspondent has given no reasonable or consistent grounds for American sympathy with Russia; but we believe that those grounds for which such sympathy exists are not difficult to find. The slaveholding States sympathize with the Czar as a slaveholder, the fillibustering factions admire, as they would imitate, if they could, the vast scale of his aggressions; and democracy, claiming that its will should be above all law, sympathizes with a man who has established for himself the same awful exemption; and both are led by their several creeds, so contrary in appearance, so identical in fact, to hate a country where law asserts her supremacy over the will of the many or the few, and where the absolute equality of mankind is no part of the political system, and therefore serves as an excuse neither to the despotism of the one, nor the tyranny of the many.

TYPOGRAPHICAL VEXATIONS.

From The Buffalo Democracy.

THERE is probably no class of persons engaged in labour whose petty annoyances are so frequent or so exercising as editors. Dealing as they do with words, syllables and letters, in the use of which exactness is imperative and inaccuracy inexcusable, they are constantly subjected to the torture of seeing their most earnest efforts defeated and their well-intended labours marred by the recusant types, which are never tired of making mischief, and, like little demons of contradiction, as they are, of disturbing, reversing, turning and twisting ideas into nonsense, facts into fables, jokes into seriousness and pathos into bathos. There is no composition so good that they cannot render it stupid, none so feeble which they cannot utterly subdue, and, though they possess all power for evil, they never make a mistake in favour of improvement. They are perverse in the extreme; pewter, brazen-faced imps; as provoking as they are stolid, and fit agents of the father of plagues.

Job has been held to have possessed patience, and that he did take the loss of cattle, deaths in the family and sub-cutaneous inflammation with an equanimity quite exemplary may at all times be conceded. But he was very far from sounding the depths of misfortune and vexation; we think that his fortitude would have given way under the pressure of journalism, and that if he had been additionally afflicted with the editorialship of "The Us Morning Chronicle" or "The Daily Comforter," his friends Eliphaz, Bildad and the rest would have found him in no resigned mood of mind. But Job was spared that feather to his aching back, else had he known woes he wot not of. There are griefs beyond the power of cataplasms to reach; aches which poultices will never draw to a head; and of these are the family of Typographical Blunders.

We have had our trials of this sort, and so far from use breeding a habit of indifference, it has only increased and exacerbated the annoyance. There is no compositor who has as yet attained perfection in his art; neither has any editor ever arrived at complete resignation to the buffetings of mischance; and so long as the types continue to play their pranks, so long will the realization of angelic equanimity be postponed. We have yet to see the contributor to the daily press who can say, with his hand to his waistcoat, that typographical errors do not vex him.

As many of these unexpected renderings of language contain the provocation of a smile, it struck us some little time since, that a list of such as came within our own experience, which were not absolutely senseless, would be amusing, and we accordingly made memoranda of a few, all of which, we assure the reader, actually were presented to our wondering eyes, in "proofs" submitted to our revision. We ask attention to what the poet of platitude would call their "hidden meanings."

In an article mentioning a Russian loan of 30,000 roubles, the types made us say that the Government had advertised for a "loan of 30,000 *troubles*." But this was not an invitation to the Crimean invasion. In another paragraph the same day we were surprised at finding "Comfort for the Silver Grays" transformed into "*Compost*" for those political vegetables. We fear that they are gone beyond hope of fructification; the Nebraska blight has done for them.

Speaking of the Sandwich Islands annexation scheme, we tried to say that "the King had refused to sign the treaty before seeing the heir apparent;" but the substitution of a space for the first *p* made old Kamehameha as solicitous for the honours of grand paternity. In some lines of poetry contributed by a worshiper at the foot of Parnassus, we were not flattered at discovering that "heaven-born maid" was transmuted into "heavy-born babe!" This went into the paper, and for some weeks we avoided public places and frequented back streets. A prophetic error, we fear, was that which, in an article referring to the movement of Turkish troops to the Crimea, put "the *destruction*" for "the destination of Omar Pasha's army." But none of these was as bad as the total ignorance of the Church liturgy displayed by a compositor in an up-town office, who in setting an article descriptive of a consecration, made the response to the clergyman to read "And with thy *shirt*," instead of "spirit"! Another of our cotemporaries, in speaking of a lady's school, held the singular doctrine that "the female should be taught independence as well as the *mole*," instead of the male.

But to return to our own experience. We wrote something in reference to the position "sustained by Henry Ward Beecher in relation to National politics and Public morals," but alas! it was fated that the types should disappoint us in our moderate expectations, and the reverened gentleman appeared as somehow related to "*Natural* politics and *Quebec* morals." President Pierce was "*meditating* on the affairs of Europe" instead of meditating in those affairs, thus accidentally placing him in a position which, judging from his thoughtless acts, he cannot often occupy. The Argentine Confederation was transformed into "Augentine Consideration," and the "promise of a haven" for the Black Sea fleet was tortured into the promise of a heaven;" a promise the sincerity of which some of the poor fellows have had the opportunity of testing.

The Catholic Church was spoken of, and the imps of the case *would* have it that "the incense of her altars rises beneath the *skins* of every clime," instead of skies, as it was written. But the same day's work revealed the singular fact that in an assembly of young girls "all had a *kink* of grace," which was an improvement upon *kind*. Adverting to C. M. Clay's speech at Boston we found ourselves making the surprising assertion, since he is not a Cincinnatian, that he "*boared* the modern Athenians," and worst and most annoying of all, in an article copied from an Eastern paper, describing the process of casting something, the mischief-makers insisted upon saying that "the surface was skimmed by *ladies* of all impurities;" we need not say that *ladies* was the proper word.

But enough for to-day. If there be any meek and moral man desirous